THE PESANTREN TRADITION:

A Study of the Role of the Kyai in the Maintenance of the Traditional Ideology of Islam in Java

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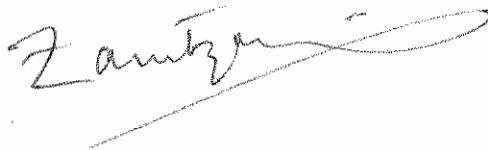
THESIS SUBMITTED FOR THE
DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN
THE AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL UNIVERSITY

October 1980

E R R A T A

1. The words "ahlissunnah" on pages: vi, vii, xxviii, xxx, 210, 268, 270, 294, 295, 297, 308, 317, 329, 330, 331, 332, and 333 should be read as "ahl al-sunna".

2. The words "nominal Muslims" on pages: 10, 29, 266, and 267 should be read as "abangan".

Zamakhsyari Dhofier

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I certify that this thesis is my own composition, and that all sources have been acknowledged.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis has grown out of a year's research in two pesantren institutions in Java,undertaken between September 1977 and September 1978. The research was made possible by a research grant from the Australian Development Assistance Bureau. This grant was part of fellowship awarded by ADAB which made it possible for me to complete my master's and doctoral studies at the Australian National University in Canberra. To the administrators of ADAB, especially Michael Koodiaroff, David Swan, Rex Benn, Marta Stelmachiw, Jeff Chandler, Dawn Wylie and Alice Thorman, I express my gratitude. I also wish to thank the Ford Foundation in Jakarta for financial support for my family during the 1976 and 1977 academic years.

I am deeply indebted to Professor Anthony Forge for inviting me to complete my doctoral studies in the Department of Prehistory and Anthropology at ANU. My association with his department has decisively determined the future of my intellectual life and he always willingly extended help when I was in difficult personal situations.

I particularly wish to thank Professor James Fox, my principal supervisor. He has been instrumental in helping to shape my graduate studies in Anthropology.

In organizing my own ideas, especially during the writing-up period, his suggestions have often inspired me. He has always been a sympathetic reviewer and a tireless editor of my work.

Two other supervisors, Dr. Geoffrey Benjamin and Dr. Soebardi, have also been helpful in improving the overall organization of my thesis and in clarifying my ideas. Their careful reading of my thesis draft has spared me many errors. I express my sincere gratitude for their help.

I also wish to thank many individuals who were involved in improving my English and in the final production of my thesis : Dr. Mitsuo Nakamura, Brigid Ballard, Judith Wilson, Kathy Robinson, Patrick Guinness, Jenny Mac Donald, Joanne Goodrum, Chris Deeble, Douglas Jervis and Graziella Wurmli. My special thanks also go to all staff of the Department of Prehistory and Anthropology, SGS, and the Department of Anthropology, Research School of Pacific Studies, who always offered help during my doctoral studies.

Finally, I should like to acknowledge the help of my family : Imas, my wife; Indah and Marra, my two daughters. With patience and love they shared my anxieties and my joys throughout the entire course of my doctoral studies.

NOTE ON PROPER NAMES AND ARABIC WORDS

Actual names of places and persons are used in this thesis. Most individuals mentioned in this work are historical personalities of public recognition, which precludes the use of fictitious names.

I have transliterated words and personal names of Arabic origin in accordance with the Encyclopaedia of Islam, except that I have ommitted the lines under digraphic. I have also retained the usual English spelling of the word Mecca.

A glossary of important foreign words used in this thesis is appended.

THESIS ABSTRACT

THE PESANTREN TRADITION:

A Study of the Role of the Kyai in the Maintenance of the Traditional Ideology of Islam in Java

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1980

This is a study of the role of the Kyai in the development of the pesantren (Islamic training centres for advanced studies) tradition on Java, beginning in the latter part of the nineteenth century. It is based on field work conducted between September 1977 and September 1978 in two pesantren: Tebuireng and Tegalsari. These two pesantren provide the principal material for an examination of the way in which pesantren throughout Java have successfully survived and grown amidst the transformation of modern life in Indonesia.

This study is an attempt to examine (1) the Kyais' efforts to preserve the pesantren tradition, (2) the Kyais' efforts to develop the pesantren institutions to meet the needs of modern life, and (3) the contribution of the pesantren to the creation of the ideology of ahlissunnah wa'l jamā'ah (followers of the Prophet and 'ulamā' tradition) among Muslims on Java. The pesantren have helped to create the unity of ahlissunnah wa'l jamā'ah among

Muslims by (1) standardizing the Islamic texts taught and the religious rituals practised in the pesantren, and (2) providing and controlling the leadership of the tarekat orders on Java.

I have set out to examine the various social and intellectual means by which the Kyai have succeeded in preserving the pesantren tradition through the establishment of solidarity and cooperation among themselves. Thus the Kyai have developed (1) a complex tradition for the intellectual transmission of knowledge among themselves, (2) a tradition in which immediate relatives become potential successors, and (3) a tradition of endogamous marriage alliances that link Kyai families to one another.

The Kyai have participated in the modern life of Indonesia through the reformation of pesantren education; this has been achieved while maintaining links with the main stream of Islamic tradition. Instead of rejecting the traditional ideology of Islam, they have been successfully re-interpreting the ideology of ahlissunnah wa'l jamāʿah. The continuous deepening of the Islamic faith and the growth of faithful Muslim communities centered around the Kyai are evidence of the vitality which the Kyai have shown in the face of secularist tendencies in Java in the twentieth century.

INTRODUCTION

I

This is a study of the *pesantren*[1] tradition which focusses on discussing the role of the *Kyai*[2] in the maintenance and spread of the traditional Islam in Java. By traditional Islam I mean Islam which is still strongly bound with established Islamic ideas created for it by the scholars, jurists, doctors, and Sufis of the formative centuries, a period covering the early centuries of theological and legal development, sectarian conflicts and the rise of the Sufi movement and brotherhoods in the thirteenth century. This is not, however, to say that contemporary traditional Islam in Java remains fixed in the moulds created for it by the ʿulamā' (Muslim leaders) of the formative centuries. Commenting on this, Professor H.A.R. Gibb writes :

> In some respects this view [that traditional Islam remains stagnant] is apparently justified, and it is, indeed, held by a number of modern Muslim scholars themselves. But no great organization of human belief, thought, and will really stands still over a period of six centuries. It is true that the external formulations of the Muslim faith have shown little development during the whole of these six centuries. Yet, in fact, the inner

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1 Islamic training centres for advanced studies.

2 The leaders of the pesantren.

> structure of Muslim religious life was being profoundly re-adjusted and, as in other religious communities, the process generated an expansive energy which found outlets in several different kinds of activity (Gibb 1947 : 1-2).

The continuous expansion of Islamic faith and the growth of Muslim communities centered around the Kyai in Java is clear evidence of the vitality which the Kyai have shown in the face of the onslaught of Islamic modernism and secularist ideas in Java in the twentieth century. The "conservative" outlook of the Kyai does not produce an unchanging religious life but one in which changes are either resisted or come about only by slow and imperceptible stages. In fact, this thesis attempts to describe the internal evolution of traditional Islam in Java in the twentieth century.

This study is based on fieldwork, mainly on two pesantren institutions, conducted between September 1977 and September 1978. The two pesantren are Pesantren Tegalsari and Pesantren Tebuireng. The first was established around the end of the 1860's and is located in Kelurahan[3] Sidoarjo, in the Sub-District of Susukan, twenty-one kilometres to the southeast of

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3 Kelurahan is an administrative unit of village clusters with populations ranging between 200 and 1,500 people apiece.

the town of Salatiga in Central Java. The second pesantren, Pesantren Tebuireng, was established in 1899 and is located in Kelurahan Cukir, eight kilometres to the south of the town of Jombang in East Java (see Map 1).

Most students of Javanese Islam have been preoccupied with modernism, exaggerating its extent or its importance and underrating the strength and influence of traditional Islam.[4] In contemporary Java, traditional Islam is still dominant. With the foundation of Nahdatul ʿUlamā' (the Awakening of Muslim Scholars), the organization of traditional Islamic scholars, in 1926, the expansion of modernist ideas from urban centres to the villages where the majority of the Javanese Muslims lived was checked. In contemporary Indonesia, NU organization is still expanding; and, as shown in the results of the 1971 general election, it is now the largest and most powerful Islamic organization currently active in Indonesia. Of the 29 per cent of the total vote gained by all the Islamic parties (NU, Parmusi, P.S.I.I., Perti)[5] in the 1971 general election, NU gained 18.67

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4 The modernists attract much attention among students of Javanese Islam because : (1) their press has seemed to attain a large readership among Indonesians, and (2) their belief in "relative" freedom of the will and certain other points, which raises more sympathy for their position than for traditional Islam.

5 Parmusi is an abbreviation of Partai Muslimin Indonesia (the Indonesian Muslim Party) (see Ken Ward 1970). P.S.I.I. is an abbreviation of Partai Sarikat Islam Indonesia (the Indonesian Islamic Association Party). Perti is an abbreviation of Persatuan Tarbiyyah Islam (the Association of Islamic Educational Institutions).

Map I

PESANTREN CENTRES IN JAVA
in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries
Tegalsari
Tebuireng
0
300 kilometres
major Pesantren
minor Pesantren
Key:
1 Banten Regency: Pesantren Citangkil
2 Bogor: Pesantren al-Falah
3 Purwakarta
4 Garut: Pesantren al-Hudā
5 Tasikmalaya: Pesantren Surialaya, and Cipasung
6 Cirebon: Pesantren Buntet, Pesantren Ciwaringin
7 Banyumas: Pesantren Barongan
8 Brebes, Tegal, and Pemalang
9 Kebumen
10 Kendal
11 Pesantren Kaliwungu
12 Muntilan: Pesantren Watucongol and Pesantren Tegalrejo
13 Pesantren Krapayak, Yogyakarta
14 Klaten: Pesantren Tempursari
15 Semarang: Pesantren Darat
16 Pesantren Tegalsari, Salatiga
17 Demak: Pesantren Mranggen
18 Surakarta: Pesantren Jamsaren and Pesantren Kalioso
19 Pati: Pesantren Maslakul Huda
20 Pesantren Tremas, Pacitan
21 Pesantren Lasem, Rembang
22 Pesantren Gontor, Ponorogo
23 Kediri: Pesantren Lirboyo, Pesantren Ploso, Pesantren Purwoasri
24 Jombang: Pesantren Tebuireng, Pesantren Denanyar Pesantren Tambakberas, Pesantren Rejoso
25 Tuban
26 Lamongan
27 Mojokerto
28 Sedayu
29 Gresik: Pesantren Maskumambang
30 Surabaya
31 Pesantren Kademangan, Bangkalan
32 Bangil
33 Pasuruan
34 Malang
35 Prabalingga
36 Lumajang
37 Jember
38 Pesantren Asembagus, Situbondo
39 Banyuwangi: Pesantren Darussalam, Blok Agung, and Pesantren Darunnajah, Banyuwangi
40 Bawean

per cent or 64 per cent of the total of the votes for the Islamic parties (A. Sjamsuddin 1972 : 158-9).

The overwhelming strength of traditional Islam in contemporary Java is not solely due to its followers being more numerous than modernist Islam; it is also due to the strength of internal unity among its members. Unlike many Indonesian religious, social and political organizations which often suffer weaknesses and internal disunity,[6] NU has avoided both and has been able in the 1971 and 1977 general elections to withstand the Indonesian Government's "concerted political campaign".[7] "Ironically", Ken Ward notes, "NU is also the party least understood and least observed by academic commentators" (Ward 1974 : 90). Ben Anderson also states that very few of us know much at all about NU; no doctoral dissertation has yet

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6 Indonesia's political parties, with the exception of NU, lost the 1971 and 1977 elections because of their long-evident weaknesses and internal disunity. NU, on the contrary, received a slight increase in votes from 18.4 per cent in 1955 to 18.67 per cent in 1971. The 1977 election also showed a slight increase of votes for the Islamic Party, but we cannot explicitly say that it was due to the success of NU since the party was in coalition with other Islamic groups. (On the analysis of the 1971 General Election in Indonesia, see Ken Ward 1974.)

7 In the 1971 and 1977 general elections, the Indonesian Government stood for election and was represented by Golkar. The government has tried hard to weaken the role of the political parties by exploiting the internal disunity of these parties.

been written about NU and he doubts if one will be written soon - in spite of the fact that it has been for many years one of the largest political parties in Indonesia (Anderson 1975 : 23). Indeed, the academic lack of understanding of traditional Islam in Java is, in fact, worse than merely negligence. As Alan Samson has rightly pointed out, most analyses of traditionalist-modernist doctrinal differences are written from a modernist point of view. In this sense, the terms of the debate are defined by modernists. Most sources and interpretative material that non-Indonesian scholars rely on for their analyses are modernist in origin. What they understand about traditionalist doctrines are actually the traditionalist doctrines defined or formulated by the modernists which, unfortunately, are frequently quite misleading. Many modernist works are couched in arguments addressed to the traditionalists who do not have the same doubts and difficulties that face the modernized segment of society (Samson 1978 : 204).

My present work is an attempt to provide a brief historical and ethnographic report on the Pesantren Tebuireng and Tegalsari, focussing on the role of the Kyai of these two pesantren in the maintenance and spread of the traditional ideology of Islam. I intend, however, to examine a number of works on Indonesian Islam, particularly on pesantren. Most of the works on pesantren written by specialists on Indonesian Islam

strike me personally as unsatisfactory. Geertz's view of pesantren, for example, is ambiguous and paradoxical. On the one hand, he argued, that pesantren life is marked by an aggressive, self-reliant, "free enterprise" type of economic ethic to such an extent that even today pesantren graduates make up a disproportionately large percentage of the small Indonesian business class. On the other hand, he described the religious outlook of the pesantren as that of "grave-and-gift" ("kuburan dan ganjaran") since the pesantren is primarily concerned with life after death and with gaining blessings from God (Geertz 1959-1960 : 236-8). This "grave-and-gift" label imposed on the pesantren by outsiders does little justice to the real features of pesantren life. The pesantren is, of course, very much concerned with life after death but it is also concerned with life in this world. According to Kyai belief, human fate after death is determined by our conduct and the weight of our "ʿamal" (performances of religious rituals and social obligations).

Labelling the santri[8] of pesantren as "the conservative Muslims", Geertz argued that one of the

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8 The word santri in this thesis is employed with two meanings. With lower case 's', santri is used to indicate students in the pesantren institutions. With capital 'S', Santri is used to indicate faithful Muslim Javanese.

features of the conservatives is their acceptance of syncretic elements which are not Islamic. This identification, however, is curiously similar to what Geertz noted about the abangan[9] mixture of religious beliefs, which is an integration of the three major sources of spiritual tradition : animism, Hindu-Buddhism and Islam (Geertz 1956 : 138). We can see this same confusion in Alan Samson, who characterized conservative Muslims as adherents of a religious system based on a melange of animistic, Hindu-Buddhist and Islamic elements, similar to that of the abangan (Samson 1968 : 1001-7). It is clear that Samson has sin ly made explicit the confusion over the features of abangan and conservative Muslims in Java.

In Islam Observed , which compared with the way Islam was established on Java and in Marocco, Geertz writes :

> Islam which arrived with genuine definitiveness only after the fourteenth century - moved into one of Asia's greatest political, aesthetic, religious, and social creations, the Hindu-Buddhist Javanese state which had cast its roots so deeply into Indonesian society. Compared ... even to Muslim India, Indonesian Islam has been remarkably malleable, tentative, syncretic, and most significantly of all, multi-voiced (Geertz 1968 : 11-12).

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[9] Javanese Muslims on the fringe of the self-conscious practising Muslim community.

Geertz is here discussing the Islam of Javanese courts which, during the Dutch rule, was detached from its sources without possessing the conditions which Geertz himself acknowledges as prerequisite to its development[10] :

> By contrast, a religion (Islam) which is at once doctrinal and important must almost necessarily rely upon a well-developed formal school system for its propagation and for its maintenance, and "true" Moslems are in a special position (Geertz 1960 : 177).

In "Islam Observed" no reference has been made to religious institutions on the island of Java.

Deliar Noer's work is no less detrimental in contributing to the misunderstanding of traditional Islam. Without having done enough research on pesantren institutions, he concludes :

> In spite of their (the traditionalists) claim to be followers of madhabib (schools of law) - mainly the madhhab (school) of Shafi'i - they did not in general follow the teachings of the founders of the madhahib but confined themselves mainly to teachings of later imam or persons of knowledge,

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[10] With a policy to eliminate completely the influence of Islam in the Javanese courts, the Dutch enforced a serious surveillance of Pakubawana IV (the Sultan of Surakarta Kingdom) who in 1789 began to show an unusual inclination for public demonstrations of religious conviction. They even pressured the Susuhunan to surrender to them the leading, faithful Muslims who had become the Susuhunan advisors : Wiradigda, Panengah, Kanduruwan, Ahmad (or Nur) Saleh, and Bahman. These leading Muslim 'priests' were arrested and on the twenty-seventh of November 1789 they were sent to the Dutch authority in Semarang (see the minutes of this process in Rickleffs 1974 : 315-37).

> who in many cases deviated from the teachings of the founders. The traditionalists in Indonesia were following the established *fatwa* (decisions) rather than the method of arriving at the *fatwa* ...
>
> In Sufism many of the traditionalists often fell into practices which were close to *shirk* (heretics), associating God with beings and objects (Noer 1973 : 300).

These are bold statements offered without any evidence. We even do not know whom he refers to when he discusses about the "traditionalists". Let me compare Noer's statements with Anthony Johns' :

> Originality, for its own sake is not a requirement for Muslim authors, particularly those whose concerns are predominantly pastoral. The role of *ʿalim* (men of knowledge) is to make the deposit of revealed truth and established practice clearer; and the structuring of his (ʿalim) work will reflect that distribution of emphases that his own situation informs him is desirable (Johns, in press).

In my thesis, I will describe the Islamic spirit of the pesantren which is acknowledged as "*benteng pertahanan Ummat Islam*" (Fortress for the defence of the Islamic community) and "*pusat penyebaran Islam*" (centres for the spread of the Islamic faith). As an intensive study of two pesantren as religious, educational and social institutions, this thesis is ethnographic in focus and method, but it also seeks to illuminate the history of these pesantren and especially their role in the development of the orthodox community in Java from approximately 1875 to the 1970's.

However, in order to understand the present picture of the pesantren tradition and the religious, political and economic life of the Kyai, it is necessary to describe briefly its earlier conditions since Islam was introduced in Java in the thirteenth century. This is absolutely essential since the religious conflict between the traditionalism and modernism, and to some extent, between Islam and Christianity in contemporary Indonesia is partly caused by the nature of Islam professed by the majority of the Javanese.[11]

II

Islam began to penetrate Java during the period of the growth and expansion of the Hindu Majapahit Empire. The parallel development of these two contrasting

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11 Following the crushing of communism in Indonesia after the September 1965 coup, Christian missionaries intensified their propagation among the nominal Javanese Muslims. These activities were regarded by the orthodox Muslims as a challenge from the Christians against Islam. The Muslims responded to this challenge by burning some churches built among the Muslim community. Confrontation between the Muslims and Christians was so serious that the Government invited both sides to meet in a Musyawarah Antar Agama (Consultation among Different Religious Communities) in 1967. In this meeting President Suharto suggested that propagation of a religion to gain new converts should be directed only toward pagan people. Christian missionaries disagreed with the President's proposal and considered the proposal to be to the favour of the Muslims. The present Minister of Religious Affairs has enforced this proposal as a government decree which implicitly prohibits Christian missionaries from preaching Christianity among nominal Muslims.

forces can partly be explained by the participation of the Javanese in the trading system of the Indian Ocean which was dominated by Muslims (Johns 1975 : 37-9). In other words, the more powerful the Hindu Majapahit grew, the more intensive the trading contacts between Java and Islamized India became. This undoubtedly contributed to the growth of the Muslim community in Java. When Majapahit ceased to function, Islam was instrumental in the establishment of the new Islamic Kingdom of Demak. Even on the basis of this oversimplified version of a very complex historical process, it seems safe to suggest that since the end of the fifteenth century, Islam had replaced Hinduism as the prime rallying point for political activism in Java, and, as might be expected, the emergence of Demak as a powerful Islamic principality was instrumental in the further Islamization of Java. Raffles wrote in 1817,

> ... with the exception of an inconsiderable number in some of the interior and mountainous tracts, the whole island appears to have been converted to Mahometanism Islam in the course of the sixteenth century, or at least at the period of the establishment of the Dutch at Batavia in 1620 (Raffles 1830, Vol. II : 2).

The development of the more orthodox community, however, took place at a much slower rate. Raffles confirmed that only "some few individuals among them may aspire to a higher sanctity and closer conformity to Mahometanism than others, ..." (Raffles

1830, Vol. II : 2). At this time the Javanese Muslims were still devoted to their ancient institutions. It may be fairly stated, that the Javanese in general, while they believed in one supreme God, and that Muhammad was His Prophet, and observed some of the outward forms of the worship and observances, were little acquainted with the doctrines of Islam (Raffles 1830, Vol. II : 2).

III

During the first two centuries of the Dutch control, the contact between Islam in Java and the rest of the Muslim World was very limited. This was due to the Dutch religious policy which discouraged such contact. This thwarted the development of a more orthodox Muslim community in Indonesia.

By playing one state against the other, the Dutch were able eventually to dominate Java completely. Between 1677 and 1777, the Dutch East India Company extended its political and economic control over two-thirds of Java (Vlekke 1945 : 146-63), while it dominated, for the most part, the economic life of the remainder of the island. The truncated and nominally independent state of Mataram was totally excluded from commercial relations with the outer world. Its commerce was vigorously

suppressed : "... merchants, and shipbuilders lost their occupation, and the fisheries and forests were no longer profitable. The Javanese became a people of cultivators and the economic content of their social life was stunted" (Furnivall 1941 : 39, 43-4). With respect to Java, the Dutch rule substantially altered the basic structure of Javanese social organisation. Apparently, to an appreciable extent, it also altered the political and economic attitudes of much of the population of Java (Kahin 1961 : 2).

After the Dutch gained a strong political foothold in Java, they launched a policy of restrictions against and surveillance of Islam. Raffles (1830, Vol. II : 3) suggests that this policy was not inspired by the wish to propagate Christianity on Java; the sole object appears to have been the safety of Dutch power and the tranquility of the country. A similar view is given by de Haan (1912 : 12-3) who remarks that the Dutch Government apparently occupied itself with Islam when it had reason to fear disturbances of the peace by conspicuously religious elements. Some Indonesian Muslim scholars (Natsir 1969; Noer 1973), however, disagree with this view and consider that the Dutch were apparently acting in support of Christian missionaries. There are some grounds to believe that the Dutch who at this time were rigid, righteous self-conscious Calvinists puritans, opposed all religions but their own reformed faith. Occasionally, the Board of

Directors of the V.O.C. (Verenigde Oost Indische Companie = the Dutch East Indian Company) issued instructions to "Governor General and Councillors" outlawing the public exercise of other religions. The Council in Batavia issued a great number of prohibitive regulations against Islam, as, for instance, the prohibition in 1651 of "public or secret meetings to exercise their wrong and Mohammedan religion"(De Haan 1912 : 12-3). In 1664, the Dutch decided to forbid three Buginese hajis, coming from Mecca, to land and to expel them to the Cape. They justified this measure by arguing that "their arrival among the here living superstitious Mohammedan nations would have very serious consequences". In 1716 ten hajis were allowed to land under surveillance (De Haan 1912 : 744-5). In 1810 Governor Daendels issued a decree ordering "Mohammedan priests" to supply themselves with passports for travels from one place on Java to the other so as to avoid disturbances (De Haan 1912 : 747).

Raffles acknowledged that every Mohammedan 'priest', assumed on Java the character of a saint and that the credulity of the common people was such that they often attributed to such persons' supernatural powers. Thus respected, they could easily rouse the country to rebellion and they became highly dangerous instruments in the hands of native authorities opposed to the Dutch interests. The Mohammedan 'priests' were invariably found to be active in every case of insurrection (Raffles 1830, Vol. II : 3).

In 1825, the Dutch issued a resolution which aimed at restricting pilgrimage as much as possible. They decreed a payment of one hundred and ten guldens (Dutch currency) just for a pilgrimage passport whose possession was obligatory. This was an enormous amount of money for those days (Vredenbregt 1962 : 98). Although Duymaer van Twist revoked this resolution in 1852, he, however, instructed the heads of regional administration on Java, the Resident of Palembang and the Governor of Sumatra's West Coast to keep a prudent eye on the hajis in general and to submit a list of all people who had left for or returned from Mecca (Eisenberger 1928 : 188).

The end result of these restrictions is clearly shown by the fact that by the end of the nineteenth century, Poensen (1886) found that a large majority of Javanese in fact acknowledged little more of Islam than the circumcision of children, fasting, and the prohibition on eating pork; that there were a number of feast days and that all Christians were kapir londa (Dutch unbelievers). By distinguishing between the formal and the inner life of the Javanese, Poensen was able to conclude that in terms of their inner life, the Javanese could not be called Muslims. In their daily prayers could be heard the names of all sorts of spirits, while the name of Allah was either absent or was

treated on a par with those of the other spirits. People could be seen to bring offerings to the spirit of the village and to other spirits in rocks, trees graves, caves, rivers, etc., while in their mosques, they never brought a single offering to Allah.

I have described briefly the restrictive measures imposed by the Dutch on Islam from the time of their arrival until around the middle of the nineteenth century. My main purpose, however, is to provide a background for understanding the development process of the orthodox community in Java, which I sometimes call the Santri community, in the last quarter of the nineteenth and in the twentieth centuries. Here I want to outline several problems : (1) Islam has been spreading in Java by an uneasy and gradual process. There have been two stages of conversion. The first stage was the conversion of the Javanese to nominal Muslims which began in the thirteenth century. During the period of the Islamic kingdoms, within the span of about a hundred years, this process was completed. In the second stage, Islamic orthodoxy moved in to replace the old religious patterns, almost wholly but never quite completely. For instance, the shariʿah (Islamic law) has never been fully applied in Java. During the reign of the sultans of the Demak and Pajang kingdoms and during the reign of Sultan Agung of

Mataram, the courts were instrumental in the spread of Islam. During the Dutch administration, however, the continuous spread of a better understanding of the true spirit and essence of Islam came under the severe restrictions. The Yogyakarta and Surakarta courts and the regional administration, during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, were indifferent to the more toward a standard of Muslim orthodoxy. Donald Emmerson illustrates the process as follows :

> Insofar as Islam was considered anticolonial, the priyayi elite was more likely to cultivate an abangan secular rather than a Santri outlook. Dutch fears of rampaging Islam shaped the structure of opportunity in the native civil service; when a patih who had reportedly ridiculed Islam was promoted by the Dutch to the position of regent, the lesson was not lost on his colleagues (Emmerson 1976 : 39).

Nonetheless, despite the restrictions imposed by the Dutch, the expansion of Islamic orthodoxy continued for centuries to be the prime rallying point against Dutch colonial rule (Kraemer 1952; and Prijono 1945). As soon as the Dutch cancelled the resolutions of 1825 and 1831 and the ordinance of 1859, there was a tremendous growth in the number of pilgrims, from whom the supply of preachers of orthodox Islam multiplied.

(2) The Opposition and restrictions imposed by the Dutch against Islam, however, limited the operation of Islam as a social, cultural and political force. Since Islam could not play an important role in the political struggle in the Javanese cities, the centre of scholarly studies moved to the villages in pesantren

complexes developed by the Kyai. The Islamic political thinking of the Kyai was confined to a limited interest, namely, religious power and the spread of the true teaching and essence of Islam. In the Kyai's mind, it was possible to accept the authority of the "infidels" so long as the latter did not destroy the Kyai's goal of spreading Islam. To some extent this political thinking is still maintained in independent Indonesia.

(3) With the destruction of the Javanese trading elements by the Dutch, the expansive process of Islamic orthodoxy took a different form from what had developed before. Trading elements did not play anymore the most decisive role in this process; instead professional Islamic teachers who were mostly engaged in rice cultivation assumed this role. These Islamic teachers were almost certainly educated in pesantren. There was also a change in the intensity of the process. Instead of stressing mass education, these teachers stressed quality. The stress they laid on teaching small groups of selected students who were attracted to them for their learning and spiritual prowess strengthened the development of the more distinctive Santri (faithful Muslim) community vis-a-vis the abangan. It is true that because Islam was accepted as the formal religion by almost the entire Javanese community, Islam did not lead to the creation of a separate community and to a lasting division between Hindus and Muslims, as happened in India (Berg 1932 :

254; and Brouwer 1949 : 330). However, the qualitative expansion of Islamic orthodoxy, which reached a peak in the first half of the twentieth century, created a bi-polarization of the Javanese community.

(4) Lacking the means of enforcing Islamic orthodoxy among nominal Muslims, the Kyai have relied solely on persuasion in gaining the hearts of these Muslims. Traditional institutions have not been destroyed; instead, these institutions have been "Islamized". The tendency of the Javanese to believe in persons who possess supernatural powers has been given an outlet in _tarekat_[12] practices and beliefs in Muslim saints. In other words tarekat has been highly instrumental in the development process of Islamic orthodoxy. This is not paradoxical since, as I will describe in the following chapters, tarekat, as conceived of and practised by the Javanese Kyai, is essentially a part of Islamic orthodoxy.

IV

This thesis is descriptive and analytical. My analysis, however, is not intended to produce theoretical propositions concerning the pesantren tradition and the traditional ideology of Islam in Java. It is intended to show that more adequate ethnographic data and more

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[12] See the discussion of all aspects of tarekat in Chapter VI.

careful imaginative analysis are essential for a better understanding of human society and culture. Most studies on Javanese Islam are couched in terms of an uncompromising dichotomy traced between traditionalist and modernist which produce rival simplifications and gross-characterizations. Although I agree that this is perhaps unavoidable, I suggest, however, that the real world of the pesantren tradition and of traditional Islam in Java is much more complicated and has been changing in fundamental ways. In the following chapters I will argue that the established approach of describing Islam in Java by means of the traditionalist-modernist dichotomy has ceased to be fruitful and what is needed is a new analytical stance.

This thesis is organized as follows: Chapter I outlines the general features of traditional Islamic education in Java: education in private houses, in the langgar[13] and mosques, and in pesantren. This chapter also provides a general survey of pesantren history, particularly in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Chapter II discusses the chief elements of pesantren: the pondok or student residences, the mosques, the kitab or classical Islamic texts, the santri, and the Kyai. The discussion of these chief elements of a pesantren provides

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[13]Prayer houses for Muslims in a neighbourhood.

us a basic understanding of the continuity underlying the traditions and changes of pesantren institutions. Chapter III discusses the extensive network of endogamous marriage alliances and the tradition of intellectual transmission of knowledge among Kyai families. Chapter IV examines Pesantren Tebuireng in Jombang as a case study of a major pesantren in the twentieth century. This chapter provides a description of the daily life of students in a pesantren, how they are trained, what they are taught, and what sort of religious rituals they perform daily. Chapter V describes Pesantren Tegalsari which provides a contrast case to that of Tebuireng. The case of Tegalsari also provides an example how minor pesantren play their role as agents for the further local diffusion of Islam in Javanese villages. Chapter VI discusses the form of tarekat practised by the Kyai. This chapter provides a description of the tarekat orders developed by the Kyai as the Kyais' means of preserving Islamic orthodoxy and religious leadership among the older generation. I must stress, however, that my data on tarekat are very limited, both in content and in locality. Therefore, most assumptions in Chapter VI are still tentative and need further investigation. Chapter VII discusses the ideology of ahlissunnah wa'l jamāʿah. The discussion of this ideology provides a basic understanding of the differences underlying the similarities between traditionalist and modernist Islam

in Java. Chapter VIII concludes the thesis by discussing briefly the place of the Kyai in the contemporary world, thus drawing our attention to the fact that the career of pesantren institutions in Java is currently in the process of change and transformation as part of modern life in Indonesia.

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CHAPTER ONE

GENERAL FEATURES OF PESANTREN

I

Pesantren tradition forms part of the traditional Islamic education found in Java and Madura. It has been a subject of interest for students of Indonesian Islam since Brumund wrote his book on the educational system of the Javanese in 1857.[1] This study has been followed by a considerable number of works both in Dutch and English, yet, as Professor Johns (1975 : 40) has remarked, we still know little about the pesantren. Scholars such as van den Berg, Hurgronje and Geertz (to mention just a few), who have been deeply aware of the strong influence of pesantren in moulding the social, cultural, political and religious life of Javanese villagers, have only partially understood features of pesantren life. Their descriptions of pesantren life have only touched upon the simplicity of the buildings within pesantren complexes, the austerity of the *santri* way of life, the *santris*' absolute obedience to their *Kyai* and, in some instances, on the preliminary teaching of some

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1 See Brumund (1857, especially pp. 4-29).

Arabic texts. Even Raden Achmad Djajadiningrat, the Bupati of Serang from 1901 to 1917, in his reminiscences about his early years in a pesantren revealed more about the inconvenience of pesantren life than of the real strength of pesantren tradition (Djajadiningrat 1908 : 1-22). Reading this work, we are left with no other conclusion but that the pesantren is no more than a traditional religious educational institution where rural Muslim students are taught Arabic texts without understanding their meanings.

Works by Sartono Kartodirdjo (1966, 1973) only deal with the political strength of pesantren, since his main concern is the political role of pesantren in protest movements in rural Java at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries. His descriptions of pesantren, then, lead us to assume that pesantren have stressed the importance of political struggle more than anything else. As I will show later, politics has surely been part of pesantren life, but political struggle has not been regarded as a major interest. Pesantren only become involved in politics in pursuit of their principle interest : to defend and spread Islam among the Javanese community.

Some scholarly essays dealing with pesantren written in Indonesian by young Indonesian Muslim intellectuals (Dawam Rahardjo 1973; Dawan Rahardjo 1974;

and Prasodjo 1974) give a better understanding of the pesantren. These essays, however, do not relate pesantren to the wider context of the social and political structure of the Muslim community of rural Java.

The key role of pesantren in the spread of Islam and in nurturing the faith of Islamic communities in Java has been stressed by both Soebardi (1976 : 42; 1978 : 215) and Johns :

> It is such educational institutions which are crucial to the Islamic character of any Muslim city-state, and the further local diffusion of Islam. It is from such institutions, little indeed as we know of them, that derive a large proportion of the manuscripts (MSS) relating to Islamic learning from our [South East Asia] region, beginning with the very small number taken home by the first voyages of the Dutch and British trading companies from the end of the sixteenth century onwards. It is from local studies of states and institutions of this kind that any genuine history must begin, for they [the Islamic states and educational institutions] are the lynch pins of Islamization in the region (Johns 1975 : 40).

In the following pages of this chapter I shall describe the general features of pesantren institutions within the wider context of traditional Islamic education.

II

Traditionally, pesantren training centres in the islands of Java and in Madura are called <u>pondok</u> (which literally means bamboo hut). The term pondok

probably derives from the word for dormitories where the students lived, since in the past these were mostly built from bamboos, or perhaps derives from the Arabic term fundug (which literally means hotel or dormitory). The word pesantren derives from the word santri with the prefix pe and suffix an, thus literally meaning "the place of santri". Professor Johns suggests that the word santri, which was originally and is now commonly used to refer to a student of a pesantren is derived from the Tamil word santiri, meaning the religious teacher.[2]

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[2] Personal communication, 1 December 1980. C.C. Berg, however, suggests that the word santri is a corruption of the Indian word shāstrī, meaning the man who knows the (Hindu) holy books, a scripture scholar (C.C. Berg 1932 : 257). The shāstrī is derived from shāstra meaning scriptural, religious, or scientific texts (M. Chaturvedi and B.N. Tiwari 1970 : 627).

Unfortunately I did not gather sufficient information on the Kyai's preference for employing the word santri over the word tullab or mudarrasun commonly used in the Middle East to refer to students of Islamic educational institutions.

It is noteworthy that the term "pondok" was more widely used in Java before the 1960's. Similar institutions are called penyantren in Madura. In West Sumatra, traditional Islamic educational institutions are called surau, while in Aceh, North Sumatra are called rangkang meunasah. The some local rangkang meunasah in Aceh are called dajah. I have never visited these rangkang meunasah, dajah, and the surau. My friends who have visited these institutions tell me that the students in these institutions do not live in dormitories like those of pesantren but in langgar (prayer house) close to the Muslim teachers. I assume, then, that rangkang meunasah, dajah and surau are similar to mosque education commonly found in the Middle East. To what extent the difference between the Javanese pesantren and the Sumatran rangkang meunasah and surau reflects the difference between the type of Islam in Sumatra and Islam in Java needs further investigation. Taufik Abdullah's (1971) and Deliar Noer's (1973) studies indicate that Islam in West Sumatra seems to be more responsive to Islamic modernism than the "Javanese" Islam.

To understand the nature of the pesantren, it is necessary to describe the features of traditional Islamic education in these areas. Since much of my thesis is concerned with a case study of two pesantren in Central and East Java, I will confine myself here to describing the features of traditional Islamic education in these two provinces of Java.

A Javanese who takes Islam as his religion is required to pronounce the kalimah shahādah, the basic Muslim creed, that God is one and Muhammad is His Prophet. Almost every Javanese man has at least once in his life pronounced this Muslim confession of faith in public, namely at the circumcision ceremony. That is why the circumcision ceremony is sometimes called ngislamake anak (Islamizing the boy). The public pronouncement of the Muslim creed means, in principle, that a person regards himself as a member of Islamic community. In this manner, Islam requires its adherents to form a religious community whose membership is based on the public pronouncement of the kalimah shahadah.

Islam, however, requires loyalty of its members beyond the pronouncement of the basic Muslim creed. Besides reciting the kalimah shahādah, every Muslim, man or woman, must perform the prescribed prayers, fast during Ramadān, pay alms, and for qualified members, perform the "haj". In practice, loyalty to Islam is expressed by correct behaviour, by acceptance of the

norms and patterns of Islamic life and by loyalty to the Islamic community (Lewis 1974, Vol. I : xvii). In Java, correct Islamic behaviour is exemplified by the Kyai who, through their pesantren institutions and religious practice, such as Friday sermons, transmit Islamic ideals, symbols, and practices to their students and to other members of Muslim community. For the Javanese Muslims, faithfulness to Islamic orthodoxy reflects their tendency to adhere to the Islamic tradition of the Kyai.

For a Javanese to be able to recite the kalimah shahādah, perform the prescribed prayers, and recite the Qur'an, requires education. Elementary education is conducted in an informal school known as the pengajian which is accommodated in a private house, in a langgar[3] or in a mosque. In contemporary Java, this informal kind of education has been supplemented by formal school, the madrasah.[4] As it is considered

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3 A langgar is a prayer house and is usually used by a neighbourhood of a Muslim community to perform collective daily prayers. It is not normally used to perform Friday prayers.

4 It is important to note that the Indonesian Government since independence has actively supported the preservation and development of the traditional Islamic education. This support is implemented by the Ministry of Religious Affairs. Students who are enrolled in Islamic educational institutions run by this Ministry represent roughly between 10 to 15% of the total students throughout Indonesia. (See further discussion on this in Islamic Education and Traditional Ideology (Dhofier 1980)).

meritorious both to impart and to receive this minimum of education, the number of pengajian and madrasah is large. The pengajian are generally self supporting as were the madrasah during the Dutch period, while most madrasah in contemporary Indonesia are supported, fully or partly, by the government. Those who do not study further can qualify as Muslims, but since they do not understand the Qur'an (they chant) and are usually not able to read Arabic texts, they can hardly be called literate.

All pengajian, however, are not of the same kind; they are, in fact, highly stratified. They start with the earliest elementary form of education at home in which instruction is given mostly by parents to their children; this consists of memorising some short surah (chapters) from the Qur'an beginning when a child is about five years old. At the age of seven or eight, a child will be taught to read the Arabic alphabet usually by his older brothers or sisters until he masters the ability to read the Qur'an. A child, whose parents or older brothers or sisters cannot read Arabic, may be sent to the nearest neighbour who happens to be teaching the subject to his children. This preliminary teaching is usually given after maghrib (sunset prayer) or after ṣubuḥ (dawn prayer). Skill in reading the Qur'an, as it is understood by Javanese Muslims, needs continuous training

by qualified teachers. To gain a better standard of reading, then, the child has to attend further training, which is mostly available in langgar, mosques or madrasah. For those who belong to the learned or well-to-do classes, this Qur'anic training is a first stage. Those who desire higher education but do not aim at becoming ʿulamāʾ will be content with a little Arabic, while those who intend to become ʿulamāʾ will study Arabic further, and from language proceed to books of fiqh (Islamic jurisprudence), uṣul fiqh (systems of Islamic jurisprudence), hadīth (traditions purporting to preserve the decisions, actions, and utterances of the Prophet Muhammad), adab (Arabic literature), tafsīr (Qur'an exegesis), tawḥīd (Islamic theology), tārikh (the history of Islam), tasawwuf (Sufism) and akhlāq (Islamic ethics). More qualified teachers and more systematic schooling are required for these subjects. This is provided in the pesantren, and is also provided in contemporary Indonesia in the Institut Agama Islam Negeri (the State Institutes of Islamic Studies).[5]

To some extent, the strength of Islamic education in Java is still in its pesantren system. The dominant position held by the pesantren is partly

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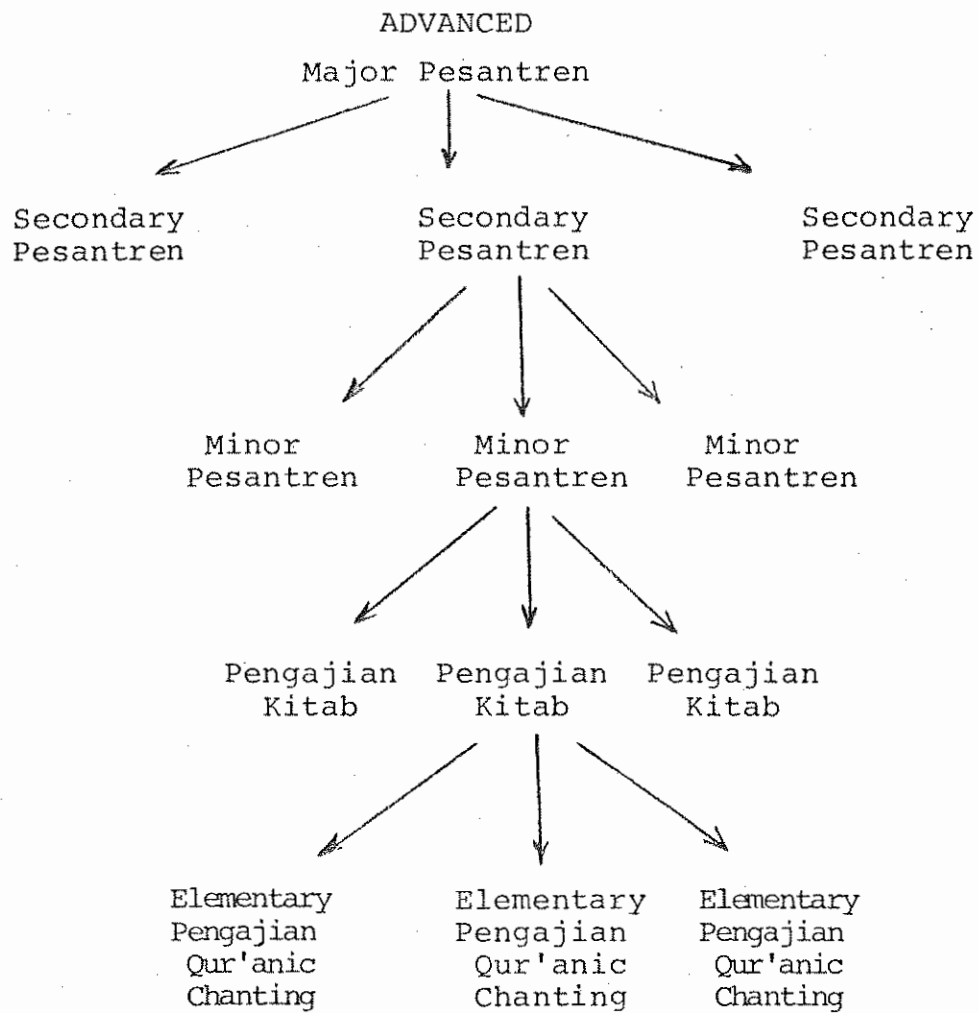
[5] On the organizational structure of traditional Islamic education, see Diagram I on the following page.

Diagram I

Organizational Structure of Traditional Islamic Education in Java

due to their success in producing numerous highly qualified ʿulamāʾ who are imbued with the calling to spread Islam and to strengthen the faith among nominal Muslims. As advanced Islamic training centres, the pesantren also produce teachers for madrasah, for other informal Islamic courses such as pengajian and for Friday sermons. The success of pesantren leaders in producing numerous highly qualified Islamic scholars is due to the Kyai's method of training. The intention is not to fill the minds of students with information, but to refine their morals, educate their spirits, propagate virtue, teach propriety, and prepare students for a life of sincerity and purity. Every student is taught to regard religious ethics above all else. The student's goal in education must not be to obtain power, money, or glory; learning is an obligation, a dedication to God.

Among the ideals of pesantren education are training towards independence and educational self-reliance. The Kyai provide for individual education and recognize individual differences between students, observe students' aptitudes and learning and take note of their individual intellect, educating them according to their potential of achievement. Students are well treated and their moral training is given due concern. Oratory and debating are encouraged. The students are

encouraged to preserve and spread Islamic knowledge to other people, to devote time and labour to study, and to learn continuously "from the cradle to the grave".[6]

Within the pesantren tradition, a man's knowledge is judged by the number of books he has read and the scholars under whom he has studied. The number of standard works on various Arabic texts that has to be read is known, and there will be scholars in every pesantren who specialize in the study of particular standard works. For example, Pesantren Tremas in Pacitan is well-known for its Kyai who are experts in Arabic grammar; Kyai Hashim Ash'ari of the Pesantren Tebuireng was well-known as an expert on hadith : ʿulamā' ahli hadīth, while Pesantren Jampes of Kediri is always well-known for its Kyai who are experts on Sufism. The fame of the teacher and the number and authority of the books studied distinguish pesantren from one another.

Though the number of subjects is limited, we must not conclude that, as a consequence, education itself circumscribes the sphere of thought and interest. The fiqh or jurisprudence in particular, can be very instructive in the modern sense of the term, because books on fiqh treat so many different

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6 A hadith teaches : "Seek knowledge from the cradle to the grave".

aspects of life, conduct and relationships. They deal with purification and cleanliness and the basic religious duties of prayer, fasting and the pilgrimage, as well as questions of marriage, divorce, slaves, offences and punishments under the shari'ah (Islamic law), peace and security, taxes, jiziyah (taxes imposed upon non-Muslim subjects), inheritance, the bait al-māl (public finance), apostasy, rebellion, partnership, trusts, commercial transactions, qāḍi (Islamic judges) and the administration of justice, evidence, deposits, credit, gifts, wages, misappropriation, preemption, assessment of rents and dues from agricultural land and orchards, mortgage, capital crimes and compensation from such crimes and other losses, sanctuary and asylum, wills and so on.[7]

The discussion of each question in the books of fiqh takes the form of : (1) statements of the opinion of the learned, which are as often as not inconsistent with each other; (2) an indication of the direction toward which the views of the majority incline (qaul 'ulamā'); and (3) the view to which preference can be given (qaul

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7 One can read the discussion of the many aspects of life in Muhibbah Dhilfaḍol (The Gift from the Superior) which consists of four big volumes written by a well-known Javanese Kyai, Shaikh Maḥfuẓ At-Tarmisy.

thāni). As there are few points about which learned opinion is unanimous,[8] few statements are made with finality. The student can, if he chooses, try to find out the opinion of other learned men not mentioned in the text which he happens to be reading, to consult the sources referred to in the text, and even to think for himself.

The idea that education is the basis for the propagation of belief, and in particular, of interpretations of belief, is very old among Muslims. This has certainly been the case since Islam gained followers on Java (Atmodarminto 1955 : 42).

Upon graduation from a pesantren, a student is given an ijazah. This is an oral acknowledgement by a Kyai that a student has attained a sufficient intellectual understanding of Islam to establish his own pesantren. Students who drop out before they reach advanced studies are advised to establish pengajian. The relationship between murid (students) and Kyai is such that the advice of the Kyai is considered by the murid as an absolute order which has to be carried out.

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8 See for example the discussion of family planning and abortion in Iʿanah al- Tālibīn (The Advice for Students) which quotes the opinion of Shafi'ite ʿulamā' who prohibits abortion, and the opinions of some Hanafite ʿulamā' who permit abortion if the pregnancy is not yet three months old.

III

WANDERING SCHOLARS

In Islam, a man who seeks knowledge is regarded as a musāfir (pilgrim) who is entitled to receive alms from rich Muslims. If he dies while he is a musāfir, he is regarded as mati shahid ("one who has died as a martyr") (Shalaby 1954 : 181). People who give support to students who seek knowledge or to teachers who dedicate their efforts to teach students are regarded as spending their wealth as ʿamal jāriah. ʿAmal jāriah are contributions of wealth intended for God's purposes and they serve as a guarantee of one's welfare after death. Those who possess knowledge can only gain advantages in life after death if they teach their knowledge to their students. The necessity of education is, thus, given great stress by Islam, and Muslim scholars consider it their duty to teach others what they know without necessarily expecting remuneration.[9]

Islam teaches that there is no journey's end for a person who is eager to seek knowledge. As a result, one of the most important aspects of the pesantren system of schooling is the emphasis on journeying

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9 This is not to say that the Kyai refuse contributions from the Muslim community. On the contrary, the Kyai encourage the Muslims to contribute their wealth for the welfare of Muslim teachers. The contributions are regarded as ʿamal jāriyah, for which contributors are well-rewarded by God. The Kyai also believe that those who work for Hereafter are rewarded by God with a better life both in the world and in Hereafter.

of its students. A student of a pesantren is rightly called santri or thālib al-ʿilm (a searcher for knowledge). Similar in some respects to the wandering scholar of Europe during the Middle Ages, a santri must literally search for knowledge, wandering from one pesantren to another, looking for the best authorities on the various branches of Islamic knowledge. Travelling is a feature of the scholarly life of pesantren and contributes to the unity of the pesantren system, thus stimulating scholarly endeavour. According to Soebardi (1971 : 334), this flourishing tradition is perhaps the result of cross-cultural fertilization between the Javanese quest for wisdom and the Islamic tradition in which travel for study is a principle feature of the classical educational system (cf. Shalaby 1954 : 181 ff; see also Snider 1968 : 26; and Pedersen 1929 : 525-37).

A typical wandering santri of the twentieth century was Kyai Ḥadji Wahab Ḥasbullah. His life provides an excellent example of the educational career of a santri who became a distinguished Kyai. Born in 1888, Wahab Hasbullah received his basic Islamic education until he was thirteen from his father, who ran Pesantren Tambakberas in Jombang. At this stage he had done some readings in elementary Islamic theology, jurisprudence and intermediate Arabic grammar. He took one year of further training in Pesantren Pelangitan

Tuban and then continued his study at Pesantren Mojosari at Nganjuk for four years under the instruction of two well-known Kyai : Kyai Soleh and Kyai Zainuddīn. Here he mainly studied advanced Islamic jurisprudence, as for example, the Fathul Muʿīn. He then moved to Pesantren Cepaka, but he did not stay there longer than six months. The reason was probably because Pesantren Cepaka did not have highly qualified Kyai anymore, since the main Kyai died at the end of the nineteenth century.[10] Wahab Hasbullah stayed one year in Pesantren Tawangsari Sepanjang near Surabaya, during which time he furthered his knowledge of Islamic jurisprudence under the instruction of Kyai ʿAli. The main book he read there was Al-Iqna'. After he was confident that he had enough background knowledge in various branches of Islamic studies, he went to Pesantren Kademangan, at Bangkalan in Madura, where he studied under the instruction of the best known Kyai in Java and Madura in the last quarter of the nineteenth and in the early twentieth centuries, Kyai Khalil.[11] He stayed in this pesantren for three years

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[10] This pesantren was well-known and enjoyed great popularity throughout Java in the nineteenth century.

[11] Almost all well-known Kyai in the first half of the twentieth century were the students of Kyai Khalil.

and developed his studies of advanced Arabic grammar, linguistics and Arabic literature. After he completed his studies in this pesantren, the "Grand Old" Kyai Khalil suggested that young Wahab (who was at this time around twenty-two years of age) continue his studies with Kyai Hāshim Ashʿari of Tebuireng at Jombang. Kyai Khalil assured young Wahab that Kyai Hāshim Ashʿari, one of Kyai Khalil's students, would become the greatest Kyai in Indonesia in the twentieth century. Kyai Khalil himself showed his admiration of his former student, Kyai Hāshim Ashʿari, by frequently spending time in Tebuireng during Ramadan listening to Kyai Hāshim teach the two collections of Hadith[12] written by Imam Bukhāri and Imam Muslim to the students. The fact that the "greatest" Kyai (Kyai Khalil), who was once Kyai Hāshim's teacher, joined Kyai Hashim's class, was regarded by santri and most Kyai throughout Java as an indication of the scholarly qualification of Kyai Hashim Ashʿari of Tebuireng.

Before studying under Kyai Hāshim Ashʿari, the young Wahab, however, decided to study in another pesantren. He stayed in Pesantren Branggahan in Kediri

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[12] They are Al-Jāmiʿ al-Sāhīh of al-Bukhāri (d. 870) and Al-Jamiʿ al-Sahih al-Muslim (d. 875). They are the early collections of hadith and are regarded by the Muslim scholars as the most reliable and greatest collections.

and did advanced study in Qur'an exegesis, Islamic Theology and Sufism under the instruction of Kyai Faqihuddīn for about a year. He then returned to Pesantren Tebuireng and took his final pesantren training under the instruction of Kyai Hashim Ashʿari. Because Wahab had acquired substantial learning in various branches of Islamic knowledge, he was appointed as the head of the Pesantren Organization (Lurah Pondok), which was responsible for organizing teachings for all santri. He was also appointed as a member of the mushāwarah class, the special class of the most advanced santri. This special class helped Kyai Hāshim to decide on masā'il dīniyah, or questions on Islamic law sent by the public; it also enabled him to teach junior and senior santri. Among the members of this mushāwarah class during Wahab's period were : Kyai Manāf ʿAbdul Karīm who established Pesantren Lirboyo in Kediri in 1924, a large pesantren in Java with about two thousand santri; Kyai Abbas Buntet who later headed Pesantren Buntet in Cirebon, which now has about four thousand santri; Kyai As'ad Asembagus, who still heads Pesantren Asembagus in Situbondo, East Java, which has about three thousand santri.

Wahab stayed in Tebuireng for four years and spent most of his time teaching junior and senior santri. He was then advised by Kyai Hāshim to

continue his studies in Mecca. There were great Muslim scholars from Indonesia who taught in Mecca in the first half of the twentieth century : Kyai Maḥfuẓ al-Tarmisy who was the founder of the well-known Pesantren Tremas in Pacitan, Kyai Mukhtarom of Banyumas, Shaikh Ahmad Khatib of Minangkabau, Kyai Bakir of Yogyakarta, Kyai Ashʿari of Bawean, and Sheikh ʿAbdul Ḥamīd of Kudus.

Wahab Hasbullah continued his studies for four years in Mecca under the instruction of these Muslim scholars. He returned to Java during the first World War and established a modern type of Islamic school, a madrasah, in Surabaya. Later he moved to Tambakberas in Jombang to replace his father as head of Pesantren Tambakberas. As a great Kyai, he became one of the leading figures and founders of the Jamʿiyyah Nahḍatul ʿUlamā' (The Association of the Awakening of Muslim Scholars), one of the largest social, educational and political Islamic organisations in Indonesia (Abubakar 1957 : 121-6). Eventually he replaced Kyai Hashim Ashʿari as the Ro'is ʿĀmm (President) of the NU upon the death of Kyai Ashʿari and he held this position until he died in December 1971.

This pattern of the wandering santri in the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries can also be seen in the biographies of Kyai ʿAbdullah Mubarrak, Kyai

Sāhibul Wafā Tājul ʿĀrifīn (Soebardi 1978 : 219-21), Kyai Hāshim Ashʿari (H. Abubakar 1957 : 65-72), Kyai Munawir, the founder of Pesantren Krapyak in Yogyakarta (Aliy As'ad 1975), Kyai Maʿsum, the founder of Pesantren Lasem (Chaidar 1972), and many others.

IV

TEACHING METHODS

Basic training in the langgar, mosque or private house is given on a personal basis. A student goes to a Muslim teacher who will read some passages of the Qur'an or some Arabic texts and translate them into Javanese. The student, in return, repeats and translates the passages as correctly as possible. The translation is given word by word and in such a way that the student will know not only the meaning of the words, but also the position of the words in the sentences. Thus, the student learns Arabic grammar directly from particular passages. The student is required to learn each passage well, and he will only be able to continue further sentences if he has mastered the previous lessons. The teacher will always lay stress on the quality of his students, and will not be interested in having more than two or three students in his classes. If he has ten students during his whole life who can finish this basic training and continue their studies

in another pesantren, a teacher will be considered successful. This personal method is called sorogan and is given in pengajian for the students who have completed their studies in reading the Qur'an. Although in many pesantren young teachers give personal tutorials in the form of sorogan to new young students, the main method practised in the pesantren is the bandongan or weton teaching system. This is a system in which a group of students (ranging from five to five hundred) listens to a teacher who reads and translates (and frequently explains further) the Arabic texts; each student has his own copy of the text and writes notes on particular words which he does not know. The class in which the bandongan system is used is called halaqah.

The sorogan method in the pengajian is the most difficult part of the traditional Islamic educational system for a student since it requires devotion, industry, self discipline and, most important, patience. Only students who have enough training in the sorogan method in the pengajian can profit from the advanced training of the bandongan system in the pesantren.

The sorogan method of teaching provides the Muslim teacher with a high degree of control and influence on the ability of his students in mastering

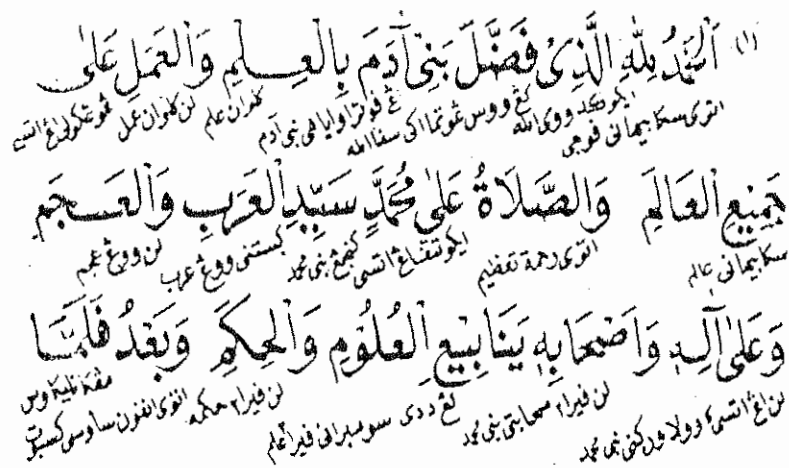
Arabic. The following illustration will give us a clear picture of how the method works in practice :

Illustration I

The Arabic Text and the Javanese Translation

(1) الْحَمْدُ لِلّٰهِ الَّذِي فَضَّلَ بَنِي آدَمَ بِالْعِلْمِ وَالْعَمَلِ عَلَى

جَمِيعِ الْعَالَمِ وَالصَّلَاةُ عَلَى مُحَمَّدٍ سَيِّدِ الْعَرَبِ وَالْعَجَمِ

وَعَلَى آلِهِ وَأَصْحَابِهِ يَنَابِيعِ الْعُلُومِ وَالْحِكَمِ وَبَعْدُ فَلَمَّا

The above text is taken from Taʿlīm al-Mutaʿallim (Guidance for Students) (Zarnuji 1963 : 5). The text and the Javanese translation, written between the text, are both in Arabic script. This particular text is written with vowels, which are not used in the sorogan and bandongan teaching method. These students study texts referred to as kitab gundul[13] which are

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13 Literally this means "bald text". Illustration II on page 23 is taken from Sirāj al-Tālibīn (the [Spiritual] Light for Seekers), Vol. II, page 405, written by the Javanese Sufi ʿUlamā' Kyai Ihsan Muhammad Dahlan, the founder of Pesantren Jampes in Kediri.

Illustration II

The Kitab Gundul

وهكذا تفعل غلبة الشهوة بالقلب إذا استولت عليه أعمت بصيرته حتى لا يبقى للقلب إمكان التوقف والاستبصار في جليات الحقائق، ولو فرض أنه بصره واعظ وأسمعه ما هو الحق فيه وأفهمه بحسن تقريره عمى عن الفهم وصم عن السمع وهاجت الشهوة فيه وسطا الشيطان وتحركت الجوارح على وفق الهوى وظهرت المعصية إلى عالم الشهادة من خزائن الغيب بقضاء من الله وقدر ، وإلى مثل هذا القلب الإشارة بقوله تعالى « أرأيت من اتخذ إلهه هواه أفأنت تكون عليه وكيلا أم تحسب أن أكثرهم يسمعون أو يعقلون إن هم إلا كالأنعام بل هم أضل سبيلا » وبقوله تعالى . « لقد حق القول على أكثرهم فهم لا يؤمنون » وبقوله تعالى « سواء عليهم ءأنذرتهم أم لم تنذرهم لا يؤمنون » وهذا هو القلب المنكوس الذى ذكر فى حديث حذيفة عند تقسيم القلوب وهو الميال إلى النفس ، وإليه الإشارة بقوله تعالى « إن النفس لأمارة بالسوء » .

[القلب الثالث] قلب تبدو فيه خواطر الهوى فتدعوه إلى الشر فيلحقه خاطر الإيمان فيدعوه إلى الخير ، فتنبعث النفس بشهوتها إلى نصرة خاطر الشر ، فتقوى الشهوة وتحسن التمتع والتنعم والتلذذ ، فينبعث العقل إلى خاطر الخير ، ويدفع فى وجه الشهوة ويقبح فعلها وينسبها إلى الجهل ويشبهها بالبهيمة والسبع فى تهجمها على الشر وقلة اكتراثها بالعواقب ، وهذا هو معاقبة القلب للنفس حين تكدره منها فما انطلقت فيه بهواها ، وذلك يكون عند عود العبد من مواطن مطالبات النفس والإقبال على الذكر والمراقبة ، وعند دفع العقل فى وجه الشهوة تميل النفس إلى نصح العقل وتضعف قوتها ، فيحمل الشيطان حملة على العقل فيقوى داعى الهوى ويقول ما هذا التحرج البارد والتكالف الذى لا معنى له ولم تمنع هواك فتؤذى نفسك وهل ترى أحدا من أهل عصرك يخالف هواه أو يترك غرضه أفتترك لهم ملاذ الدنيا يتمتعون بها وتحجر على نفسك حتى تبقى محروما شقيا متعوبا يضحك عليك أهل الزمان أتريد أن يزيد منصبك على فلان وفلان ، وقد فعلوا مثل ما اشتهيت ولم يمتنعوا من التمتع بالملاذ ، أما ترى العالم الفلانى ليس يحترز من مثل ذلك ولو كان ذلك شرا لا متنع عنها أتريد أن تكون أفضل منه ؟ فتميل النفس إلى الشيطان وتنقلب إليه بمقتضى جبلتها الأصلية وتلقى نصح العقل إلى ورائها فيحمل الملك على الشيطان ويقول هل هلك إلا من اتبع لذة الحال في العاجل ونسى العاقبة، أفتقنع بلذة يسيرة قريبة الزوال وتترك لذة الجنة ونعيمها أبد الآباد لاتنقطع ، أم تستثقل ألم الصبر عن شهوة زائلة ولا تستثقل ألم النار التى من عذب بها لم يفلح، أتغتر بغفلة الناس عن أنفسهم واتباعهم هواهم ومساعدتهم الشيطان مع أن عذاب النار لا يخفى عنك بمعصية غيرك ، أرأيت لو كنت فى زمان صيف ووقف الناس كلهم فى الشمس

written without vowels (see Illustration II).

Illustration I shows the translation method into Javanese. The Arabic al-ḥamdu li'llāhi is translated utawi sakabèhané puji iku keduwé Allāh, meaning "all praise belongs to Allāh"; al-ladhī faḍḍala banī Ādam bi'l-ʿilm is translated kang wus ngutamakaké - sapa? (rhetorical question) Allāh marang putra wayahé Nabi Adam kelawan ngèlmu. Teachers usually tell beginners that al-ḥamdu is the mubṭada' (subject of the sentence) and must be read ẓammah (the sound u as in "you") at the end of the word al-ḥamdu. This is very important because classical Arabic texts taught in the pesantren are written without vowels. The students must understand Arabic grammar to be able to read the texts. The Arabic li'llāhi is the khabar (predicate of the sentence); the word li which means keduwé ("belongs to") is known as al-ḥarf al-jārr and indicates that the word li'llāhi must be read i at the end of the word. The Arabic faḍḍala is translated wus ngutamakaké - sapa? - Allāh; here the word wus is used to show that the verb faḍḍala is in the perfect tense. The word sapa Allāh is added to make clear that the verb faḍḍala is a finite verb and the subject clearly Allāh. In the text we see

that the translation of the words ashābihi, al-ʿulūmi and al-hikami into Javanese are : pira-pira sahabate Nabi Muhammad, pira-pira ilmu, lan pira-pira hikmah (companions of the Prophet Muhammad, knowledge, and wisdom). All are preceded by the pira-pira to show that the words are in plural. Teachers usually tell beginners their derivation or the singular forms. Appendix III summarizes the Javanese and English version of the first sentence of Illustration I.

In the bandongan system, the student is not required to show that he understands the lesson.[14] The Kyai usually reads and translates the texts very quickly and mostly omits the translation of words which are quite familiar. In this way, the Kyai can finish teaching the shorter texts in a few weeks and the longer ones in a few months. The bandongan system, since it is intended for intermediate and advanced students, is effective only for students who have already followed the sorogan system intensively.[15]

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[14] See page 21.

[15] In practice, it is true that there are many students who do not have any background in the basic sorogan system, especially temporary students who go to the pesantren only during the month of Ramadān. The main purpose of these temporary students, however, is not to master the reading and translating of Arabic texts, but to experience the atmosphere of religious life in the pesantren.

There are numerous halaqah classes ranging from elementary texts to advanced ones, which are available daily, except on Fridays, from early morning to late at night. This is possible because Kyai encourage their senior students to practise teaching by becoming readers in halaqah classes. Senior santri who become readers in halaqah classes obtain the title "ustādh" (which literally means a teacher). Promising asātidha are trained further in the mushāwarah class. In this class the method of teaching is completely different from the sorogan and bandongan systems. The students are required to study the advanced texts by themselves. The Kyai sits down and gives his lessons in the form of a seminar which is organized according to questions and subjects that are set in advance. Before him sit students who discuss these subjects. Students are usually required to discuss matters among themselves in advance and to appoint one or two main speakers to present their opinions to Kyai. However, other members of the mushawarah class are also encouraged to contribute their opinion. Those who want to do so have to refer directly to the texts to support their arguments. One or two members of this class who are regarded by the Kyai as mature enough to handle sources and traditions reliably, have a breadth of reading, and are capable of finding solutions to problems especially in the

jurisprudence of the Shafi'ite madhhab (school of jurisprudence), are encouraged to become readers of advanced texts in halaqah classes. They acquire the title "Kyai muda" (young Kyai). Unlike immature students who write the translation and comments in Javanese, these Kyai muda write their interpretation and comments of the difficult issues given by their professors in Arabic (see Illustration III). Within the pesantren complex, then, the Kyai and his students form a single and stratified community based on their maturity of knowledge.

The relationship between the pengajian and pesantren institutions is essential in the sense that both represent a single body which cannot be separated from each other. Both are subject to natural process and to an intensive struggle for survival; thus there has been a sharp swing between the pengajian and pesantren institution. Most pesantren grow from the pengajian institutions, and there are many pesantren which disappear to become pengajian institutions because of a lack of leadership after a well-known Kyai dies without either leaving scholarly or organisationally qualified successors. Examples of Pesantren that have undergone this change are Pesantren Cepaka in Surabaya, Pesantren Kademangan in Bangkalan Madura,

Illustration III

The Arabic Text and Annotations in Arabic

الا الذهاب الى محل بعيد بان يكون في مجيئه مشقة تذهب الخشوع او كماله وان لم
يمشون في الشمس لما صح من قوله صلعم اذا اشتد الحر فابردوا بالظهر فان
شدة الحر من فيح جهنم اي غليانها وانتشار لهبها ونحو ذلك على انه لا بد من الشرو
الشروط المذكورة فلا يسن الابراد في غير شدة الحر ولو بقطر حار ولا في قطر بارد او
معتدل وان اتفق فيه شدة حر ولا لمن يصلي منفردا او جماعة ببيته او بمحل حضره جماعة
لا يأتيهم غيرهم او يأتيهم من قرب او من بعد لكن يجد ظلا يمشي فيه اذ ليس في
ذلك كبير مشقة واذا سن الابراد سن التأخير الى حصول الظل الذي يقي طالب الجماعة من
الشمس وغايته نصف الوقت ومنه انه يسن التأخير ايضا لمن اي لعار يتيقن الستر في
آخر الوقت لان الصلاة بها افضل ولمن يتيقن الجماعة آخره اي بحيث يبقى ما يسعها
لذلك او ظنها ولم يفحش التأخير عرفا لذلك ايضا فان انتفى ما ذكر
فالتقديم افضل وانه يسن ايضا للغيم ونحوه مما يمنع العلم بدخول الوقت حتى
يتيقن الوقت اي دخوله بان تطلع الشمس مثلا فيراها او يخبره بها ثقة او حتى
يخاف الفوات للصلاة ومن صلى ركعة من الصلاة في الوقت فهي اي الصلاة كلها اد
اداء او صلى دونها فقضاء لما صح من قوله صلعم من ادرك ركعة من الصلاة
فقد ادرك الصلاة اي مؤداة واختصت الركعة بذلك لاشتمالها على معظم افعال
افعال الصلاة اذ معظم الباقي كالتكرير لها فجعل ما بعد الوقت تابعا لها بخلاف
ما دونها وثواب القضاء دون ثواب الاداء لا سيما ان عصى بالتأخير ويحرم تا
تأخيرها الى ان يقع بعضها اي الصلاة ولو التسليمة الاولى خارجه اي
الوقت وان وقعت اداء نعم ان شرع فيها وقد بقي من وقتها ما يسعها ولم تكن جمعة

Pesantren Maskumambang in Gresik, and Peantren Jamsaren in Surakarta.

Examples of pesantren which grew from pengajian institutions are : Pesantren Tebuireng, for example, which began by teaching only eight students in a langgar. In twenty years this pengajian developed into a large pesantren with two hundred students; and ten years later, the number of santri jumped to about two thousand. Pesantren Ploso in Kediri started from a pengajian with five students in 1925. There was no accommodation for the students, and even the Kyai's accommodation had to be rented from a resident of Ploso village. Only after the Kyai had worked for almost fifty years did this pesantren grow into a large pesantren with about four hundred students. The founder of this pesantren, Kyai Jazuli, died in 1972, and was replaced by his eldest son, Kyai Zainuddīn. When I visited this pesantren in 1978, the number of its santri had grown to around nine hundred. Another extraordinary example of the development of a pesantren is Pesantren Dārussalām (The House of Peace) Blok Agung in Banyuwangi. Established among nominal Muslims in 1951 as a small pengajian in a langgar of only thirty-five square metres, the number of this pesantren's students had grown to 3,177 by 1977 (Sepintas 1977).

V

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND : CHANGES IN THE PESANTREN TRADITION

So little is known of the development of the pesantren in the past that we can only speculate about their features and their influence on the religious life of the people. In their early history, when Islam in Java was predominantly popular Sufism and was expressed mainly in the form of dhikir[16] and wirid[17] taught by numerous tarekat orders,[18] pesantren centres probably consisted of the Kyai's house and a large mosque in which some extra open rooms were allocated for the members of the tarekat orders who came from distant areas to practise suluk.[19] This type of pesantren is at present still widely found throughout Java. In such centres, the teaching of religious texts on various branches of

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16 Dhikir is recollection or remembrance of God's name.

17 Wirid means dhikir in certain phrases, repeated tens, hundreds, and even thousands of time.

18 Sufi brotherhoods. See the discussion on the tarekat orders in Chapter VI.

19 Suluk originally means the "mystical path". In connection with the Javanese literary tradition, the term suluk means "mystical literature" containing the teaching of mystical practices. At present, suluk refers to the practice of living in the mosque by members of tarekat orders for a few weeks at certain times, disciplining themselves by following certain regulations of the tarekat orders, limiting the kinds and quantity of food, observing a strict division of time, and devoting themselves almost exclusively to dhikir and wirid. It is noteworthy that suluk is not commonly practised in contemporary Java.

Islamic knowledge is given to only a few disciples.[20] It is interesting to note that the madrasah system which began to develop in the Muslim World at the beginning of the twelfth century did not exist in Java until the early twentieth century.[21] The classical Javanese sources,[22] however, indicate that as early as the sixteenth century there were many well-known pesantren which served as centres of Islamic education. These pesantren taught numerous classical texts on Islamic Law, Theology and Sufism (Soebardi 1971 : 335-40). It is safe to assume, then, that unlike the situation in the Arab World, pesantren tradition in Java in its earliest form has been a combination of a madrasah tarekat centre. Consequently, Islam in Java before the emergence of Islamic modernism,[23] did not produce two types of

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20 Centres of tarekat orders in contemporary Java do not normally teach classical religious texts. See the discussion on this in Chapter VI.

21 Spencer Trimingham (1971 : 69) notes that the organizational development of Sufism in the form of Tarekat orders occurred during the fifteenth century. However, from the time of the Seljuq rulers, who gained control of Baghdad in 1055, and attempted to discourage Sufism, the madrasah school system, which laid stress on Islamic Jurisprudence and Theology developed and soon spread from Iraq into Syria, Egypt, and North Africa (Ibid : 8).

22 See H. Kraemer (1921) and Soebardi (1971 : 335-40).

23 On the emergence of Islamic modernism and its objection to all forms of tarekat practice, see Noer (1973).

Islamic teachers : the ʿulamā' vis-a-vis Sufis as commonly occurred in the Medieval Muslim World. This is why Javanese Muslims have employed a distinct title, "Kyai", to indicate a Muslim scholar who is both a master in Islamic Theology and Jurisprudence and a Sufi master.

The Dutch Government Report of 1831 on indigenous Javanese education (van der Chijs 1864 : 228-31) gives the numbers of traditional Islamic educational institutions - the pengajian and pesantren - and the number of students in each institution, in many predominantly Islamic regencies in Java (see Table I). The Report, however, does not distinguish between pengajian and pesantren.

Table I

Traditional Islamic Institutions and their Students in Various Regencies in Java in 1831

Regency	Institution	Students
Cirebon	190	2,763
Semarang	95	1,140
Kendal	60	928
Demak	7	519
Grobogan	18	365
Kedu	5	-
Surabaya and Mojokerto	410	4,762
Gresik	238	2,603
Bawean	109	-
Sumenep	34	-
Pamekasan	97	-
Besuki	500	-
Jepara	90	3,476
TOTAL	1,853	16,556

Source : van der Chijs 1864 : 228-31

Van der Chijs (ibid) writes that a large number of these institutions did not teach anything other than the parrot-fashion reading, or rather intoning, of the Qur'an, though some pupils were also taught to write in Arabic characters.

Van den Berg seems to have been aware of the difference between the pesantren and pengajian. Analysing the official statistics of the Colonial Government in 1885 which recorded 14,929 pengajian and pesantren throughout Java and Madura (excluding Yogyakarta Principality) comprising about 222,663 students, he suggested that almost four fifths of these institutions were exclusively intended to enable young children to learn no more than Kitab Turutan (the last nine pages of the Qur'an). These institutions he called "Schools of the First Category". There were about 3,000 institutions which he classified as "Schools of Second Category". These taught basic Islamic learning and Arabic. Among the primary classical Islamic texts taught in these institutions were : Safinah al Najah (The [Sailing] Ship Towards Fortune), Sulam al-Taufiq (The Stair of Guidance), Sharah al-Sittīn (The Elaboration of Sixty [Principles]). Finally, only about 300 of these institutions were classified as pesantren (Van den Berg 1886 : 519-20 and 1881 : 22; see also Brumund 1857 : 27). These offered further training in advanced classical texts. In the first and second categories, female students took

part in the studies while in institutions of the third category only male students were permitted.

Kartodirdjo (1966 : 155) suggests that the wide distribution of pesantren institutions certainly did not date from before the last century, when Islamic learning received a new impetus from the increasing flow of ʿulamā' returning from pilgrimage. The age-old institution of the pesantren gained new strength and popular appeal during the religious revival in the latter part of the nineteenth century. During this period, Indonesia, particularly Java, was marked by religious revivalism. The conditions prevailing in the socio-cultural environment of Java prepared a fertile soil for the rise of religious revivalism. The decline of princely masters as a result of the consolidation of Dutch power in Indonesia, which in the course of time turned virtually all Indonesian rulers into tools of a Christian power, had deepened and widened the gulf which traditionally existed between ruler and ruled in the hierarchical, authoritarian Javanese society. The dependence of native rulers on the colonial power also accelerated the process of their alienation from Indonesian Islam. Priyayi (members of the Javanese bureaucratic class) officialdom, eager to please the alien overlords, was careful to avoid any suspicion of religious "fanaticism", and in so

doing not only became a target for the ridicule and hostility of many 'ulamā' (Djajadiningrat 1936 : 23), but eventually lost touch with Indonesian Islam altogether.

At the same time, the pacification and improved communications from the eighteenth century onwards aided the rapid spread of Islam in rural areas of Java. For several decades a large part of Java was swept by religious activities such as the observance of daily prayers, undertaking pilgrimage, furnishing traditional Muslim education for the young, establishing branches of tarekat, the widespread distribution of written materials for Friday sermons (see Benda 1958 : 16; and Kartodirdjo 1966 : 140-1). In the late 1850's, Holle (Kartodirdjo, ibid) observed that orders had still to be issued by regents, urging people to observe their religious duties more strictly. A few years later, a religious revival manifested itself in the increasing number of religious schools and pilgrims. The official statistics of the Dutch Government for 1831 and 1885 provide clear evidence of the tremendous jump in the number of traditional Islamic institutions.

After the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 the number of Mecca-bound pilgrims increased significantly. Since this period, there have been many Kyai who have spent years in Mecca to deepen

their Islamic knowledge. This means that there has been an increase in the number of Islamic scholars in Java who have a greater understanding of Islam, and who are quite familiar with different practices of Islamic law and rituals, and with the cultures of Muslims from different countries. So important was the training of the Kyai in Mecca that the students living in Mecca organized their school: Madrasah Dār al-'Ulum al-Dīniyyah (The House of the Religious Knowledge). The well-known Dutch student of Islam, Snouck Hurgronje, observed that by the end of the nineteenth century the Indonesian colony in Mecca was the largest and most active in the whole city:

> Here lies the heart of the religious life of the East Indian Archipelago, and the numberless arteries pump thence fresh blood in ever accelerating tempo to the entire body of the Moslem populace in Indonesia (Hurgronje 1931: 291).

When they returned to Java, these Meccan trained Kyai established pesantren and transmitted their knowledge and understanding of Islam to their santri who passed it on to the more piously-inclined elements in their village populations. The basic ritual requirements of Islam, the general quality of its spirit, and the crucial concepts of monotheism, activism (and in some respects, determinism) and the universalism of its dogma, were effectively applied and taken up by the santri (cf. Geertz 1959-1960 : 229). In short, these Meccan-trained Kyai have

accelerated the growth of Islamic orthodoxy in Java. The orthodoxy which the Kyai have maintained, however, should not be contrasted with Islamic Sufism as Benda (1958 : 17) has done. These Meccan-trained Kyai, during the last quarter of the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth centuries, studied under particular religious scholars (mostly from Java and Sumatra) whose orientation toward Islam was traditional but did not exclude Sufism from this orthodoxy.[24] Among the Indonesian Islamic scholars who taught in Mecca, two were most influential on Javanese Kyai : al-Nawawi al-Jawi al-Bantani al-Tanari, popularly known as al-Nawawi, and al-Mahfuz al-Tarmisy.[25]

The establishment in Mecca of al-Nawawi and al-Mahfuz (as well as other Islamic scholars from Java) not only strengthened Islamic orthodoxy in Java but also contributed to an increase in capable Kyai in Java who were trained in the knowledge of similar texts. Hence the curriculum and the texts used in various pesantren were standardized. This increase in capable Kyai also subsequently increased the number of major pesantren and the number of their

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[24] I shall discuss this point in Chapter VI.

[25] I shall discuss both these figures further in Chapter III which deals with the intellectual genealogy of the Kyai.

students. Apart from the increase in the number of the pesantren and the students, the Kyai who returned from their studies in Mecca about 1900 introduced a new system and spirit of pesantren education (Mahmud Junus 1960 : 199). In the 1910's the Kyai also took the initiative in the introduction of the madrasah, essentially a graded school organisation modelled on the Western educational system within their pesantren institutions[26] (see Mahmud Junus 1960, especially pp. 205, 210, 220 and 221). Another important change occurred in the 1910's. Some pesantren (for example Pesantren Denanyar in Jombang) introduced dormitories for female students in the pesantren complex. In the 1920's some pesantren (for example Tebuireng) introduced the teaching of secular subjects such as Indonesian and Dutch languages, mathematics, geography, and history.

The introduction of the madrasah system, education for female students, and the teaching of

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26 Mahmud Junus' historical records, thus, nullify Geertz' argument, "The initial reaction of the orthodox to the appearance of the madrasah was, as one would expect, sharply hostile. The new pattern of education struck at the very foundation of ʿulamā' power" (Geertz 1963 : 14). The foundation of Taswirul Afkar in Surabaya in 1916 whose leaders included Kyai Wahab Hasbullah and Kyai Asnawi of Kudus, was primarily aimed at improving and spreading the madrasah system in pesantren institutions (see Abubakar 1957 :469).

secular subjects within the pesantren complex was, to some extent, a response of the Kyai to the changes caused by the Dutch policy in Indonesia at the end of the nineteenth century. The Dutch, from this period on, introduced education of a Western type to native Indonesians. The establishment of new types of secular schools by the Dutch on the advice of Snouck Hurgronje was, from the beginning, aimed at extending the influence of the colonial government and counteracting the overwhelming influence of the pesantren (see Benda 1958 : 27; and Kartodirdjo 1966 : 157). According to Hurgronje, the future of Indonesia depended on the association of Indonesians with Dutch culture. This meant Westernizing, first of all, the Javanese nobility and the priyayi-elite in general.

> For association to become a reality, Western education had to be made available to ever larger numbers of Indonesians. In the final analysis, then, Western education was the surest means of reducing and ultimately defeating the influence of Islam in Indonesia. In competition with the attraction of Western education and cultural association, Islam could not but be the loser. Indeed, its decline was already observable. Whereas in 1890 Snouck had noted the increase in pesantren education, twenty years later he triumphantly observed that Western schools were starting to win the race against their Muslim counterparts (Benda 1958 : 27).

With the introduction of a Western educational system, high school and university graduates became the ideal

educated class in Indonesia to replace the Kyai as capable literati and community leaders.[27] This meant that ambitious and intelligent young men and women turned their attraction to Western education, for they could be employed in modern occupations open to all Indonesians.

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[27] Before the introduction of mass education of a Western type, traditional Islamic educational institutions provided the only available education for native Javanese. Consequently the pesantren institutions could train capable literati and community leaders, and were the available means for upward class mobility. The reverable of the ʿulamā' class was remarked on by the well-known court poet, Raden Ngabehi Yasadipura I, in the Serat Cabolek :

> Let me tell you, my dear younger brother
> Mylayakusuma that you are the only one to think
> (that) a bupati [regent] is better than a santri,
> but in fact a santri is superior to a bupati.
> Even a hypocritical, inferior and bald-headed
> santri is better than you.
> A man has more respect as an ʿulamā' than if
> he were a bupati.
> (because) he is a minister of God.
>
> Which is more exalted, a minister of Providence
> or a minister of an earthly king,
> this dear younger brother, is the comparison.
> Ketib Anom Kudus is in every respect suited
> to be a minister of the Supreme Soul.
> Even were there ten (ministers of a king)
> one ʿulamā', dear younger brother, would be
> superior to them.
> In their heart, dear younger brother, the ʿulamā'
> are the best people of the world.
> (Soebardi 1975 : 42)

The Kyais' response to this change, however, was limited. There were mainly two reasons for this : (1) the Kyai were restrained by the very ideology of pesantren education, i.e. that education was primarily designed to uphold and spread Islam, and (2) they lacked an adequate staff to teach secular subjects.

The introduction of the madrasah system by pesantren at the beginning of the twentieth century, led to the disappearance of one important feature of the pesantren tradition, i.e. the tradition of the "wandering santri". The adoption of a graded system and the reliance on formal certificates as a sign of scholastic achievement forced santri to stay for long periods in just one pesantren (see Wahid 1974 : 50). In the past, a santri, as, for example, Kyai Wahab Hasbullah, would wander from one pesantren to another to satisfy his thirst for knowledge without regard for formal certificates. Many Kyai told me that their early pesantren life involved repeated study of four or five basic texts with many teachers until they had completely mastered these texts. Some Kyai were well-known for their mastery of particular texts. They could read even these texts if they were up-side-down because they had read them so often. Kyai Khalīl of Lasem, Rembang was well-known for this ability to read

the Tafsīr al-Jalālayn (a commentary of Qur'an written by two Islamic scholars both named 'Abd al-Jalāl) without glancing at the text. At present, a santri will hardly ever repeat a text with a different Kyai after he has finished studying it in the madrasah.

The adoption of the madrasah system, however, did help the Kyai to consolidate their position in relation to expanding Western schools. During the 1920's and 1930's, the number of major pesantren and their students multiplied. Before the 1920's, major pesantren had about two to four hundred students. In the early 1930's, there were many pesantren, for example Tebuireng, which had more than 1,500 students. Moreover, although the number of Western schools had increased tremendously, high-school education until 1940 was still largely reserved for the European population :

> By 1940, there were 88,223 Indonesians enrolled in all schools giving a Western primary education, 8,235 in Mulo schools (Western education, grade 7-9), and 1,786 in all high schools. From these types of schools respectively 7,790, 1,130, and 240 Indonesian students graduated in 1940. It is important to note, as Indonesian nationalists certainly did, that in 1940 high school education (that is, secondary education above the Mulo level) was still largely reserved for the European population, 5,688 of the students in such schools being Europeans as against 1,786 Indonesians (Kahin 1961 : 31).

A survey conducted by the Shumubu (the Department of Religious Affairs of the Japanese Military Government of Java) in 1942 recorded the number of madrasah and students as shown in the following Table :

Table II

Number of pesantren and madrasah, Kyai and students in Java and Madura in 1942

	Jakarta	West Java	Central Java	East Java
Population[1]		11,039,350	15,040,042	14,811,701
Pesantren and Madrasah	167	1,046	351	307
Kyai[2]		7,652	4,466	6,150
Students	14,573	69,954	21,957	32,931

Total number of pesantren and madrasah : 1,871[3]

Total number of students : 139,415[4]

1 The population figures are from the 1930 population census and include only the native population. The population of West Java includes Jakarta.

2 The figures of Kyai in West Java includes Jakarta.

3 The Survey did not distinguish between pesantren and madrasah. The number of madrasah includes those belonging to Muhammadiyah which represents about 10%.

4 The number of students should in fact come to more than 139,415 because in the report there were many madrasah whose students were not recorded.

Source : Osamu Shūdan Shireibu, 1943.

Notes : Unlike the two previous Dutch Reports, this Japanese Survey did not include the number of pengajian which I believe increased after 1885.

I suggest that the overwhelming influence of the Islamic parties in Indonesian politics between 1910's and the early 1950's was due to the development of Islamic educational institutions. Students in these institutions were more numerous than those in the secular schools that were open to indigenous Indonesians.

The overwhelming dominance of pesantren began to decline dramatically after 1950 when Indonesia became independent. In independent Indonesia employment in modern occupations was opened to those Indonesians who were trained at secular schools maintained throughout this country by the government. This has resulted in fewer young people being attracted to pesantren education as compared to those who went to secular schools.[28] Most minor pesantren disappeared during the 1950's and 1960's; major pesantren survived, but only because these pesantren included the teaching of secular subjects. Since the 1960's, many pesantren (for example, Pesantren al-Fallāh in Pagentongan, Bogor, Pesantren Cipasung in Tasikmalaya, Pesantren Rejoso and Tebuireng in Jombang) have established <u>Sekolah Menengah</u>

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[28] See Table III. This is not to say that the absolute number of pesantren institutions has dropped in present-day Indonesia. Quite the contrary, as shown in this Table, their absolute number has increased.

Pertama (Junior High Schools) and *Sekolah Menengah Atas* (Senior High Schools), both of a secular type, within their pesantren complex. The increasing complexity of the Javanese community has also resulted in an increased complexity in the development of pesantren institutions. There are now many different types of pesantren education : each following a different tendency which can be classified into two important categories :

1) Pesantren *salafi* which preserve the teaching of classical texts as essential education. In these pesantren, the madrasah system is adapted to provide secondary teaching in elementary classical texts without the introduction of secular subjects. Pesantren of this type are as follows : Pesantren Asembagus in Situbondo, Pesantren Lirboyo and Ploso in Kediri, Pesantren Maslakul Huda in Pati, Pesantren Tremas in Pacitan.

2) Pesantren *khalafi* which have either introduced the teaching of secular subjects or have incorporated secular schools. A well-known pesantren, Pondok Modern Gontor in Ponorogo, does not teach classical texts anymore. Large pesantren like Tebuireng and Rejoso in Jombang have now introduced SMP and SMA and even university-type education while maintaining the teaching of classical texts.

I asked Kyai Zainuddin of Pesantren Ploso, a pesantren salafi, about these different tendencies in pesantren education. His reply was :

> "Let them follow different systems, because now the Ummat Islam (Islamic community) needs various kinds of formal knowledge to fit the modern occupational system; none of them will drop the essential feature of the pesantren tradition, the teaching of Islam".[29]

According to the official report of the Department of Religious Affairs 1978, the number of pesantren institutions throughout Java and Madura in 1977 was 4,195 with about 677,384 students. Table III shows the distribution of these institutions in the four provinces on Java.

The majority of these pesantren were pesantren khalafi. Both pesantren salafi and khalafi, with the exception of Gontor, however, maintain the traditional elements of a pesantren : the pondok, the mosque, the teaching of classical Islamic texts,[30] the santri and the Kyai. These elements will be discussed in the following chapter.

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[29] Source : personal interview on 12 May 1978.

[30] With the exception of Gontor

Table III

Number of pesantren and students as compared with students enrolled in other educational institutions in the four provinces of Java in 1977

	Jakarta	West Java	Central Java	East Java
Secular schools				
Primary	2,248	11,478	13,865	12,317
Students	588,614	2,428,744	2,573,565	2,401,641
Secondary	863	1,079	1,654	1,337
Students	201,901	350,232	389,044	327,577

Total secular schools throughout Java : 44,841

Total students of secular schools : 9,261,318

Religious schools

	Jakarta	West Java	Central Java	East Java
Madrasah and PGA	632	9,625	8,583	7,625
Students	54,410	729,662	595,856	799,134

Total Madrasah and PGA : 26,465

Total students : 2,179,062

	Jakarta	West Java	Central Java	East Java
Pesantren	27	2,237	430	1,051
Students	15,767	305,747	65,072	290,798

Total pesantren : 4,195
Total students of pesantren : 677,384

Source : 1978 Report of the Department of Religious Affairs

CHAPTER TWO

ELEMENTS OF A PESANTREN

The pondok, the mosque, the santri, the teaching of classical Islamic texts and the Kyai are the five basic elements of the pesantren tradition. Once a pengajian institution possesses these five elements, it deserves to be called a pesantren. Throughout Java, people classify pesantren institutions into _pesantren cilik_ (minor pesantren), _pesantren rada gede_ (medium pesantren) and _pesantren gede_ (major pesantren). Some major pesantren enjoy a popularity which attract students from many parts of Indonesia. In contemporary Java, there are at least two pesantren of this kind : Pesantren Tebuireng and Pesantren Gontor, both are located in East Java.

THE PONDOK

A pesantren is a religious boarding school in which students reside and study under the direction of a teacher known as a Kyai. The boarding houses for the students are located in the pesantren complex where the Kyai lives and provides a mosque and teaching rooms

for religious activities and courses. Thus, the Kyai and the students live together in one complex which is usually surrounded by walls. The walls are built to prevent the students from leaving the complex except with the permission of the Kyai.

Traditionally, the complex belonged entirely to the Kyai. In present-day Java, the pesantren complex is regarded as the property of the Muslim community. This is because the Kyai now derive most of their financial support for the development of the complex from the public. The Kyai, however, still maintain absolute authority over the management of the complex. The contributors themselves consider that the Kyai deserve financial support. Public donations belong to God, and the Kyai are recognized as the legitimate representative of God to manage these donations. There has never been a need of public interference in the management of these public donations.

James Siegel suggests that the land on which rangkang meunasah complexes in Aceh are founded, is mainly public endowment donated by rich Muslims (Siegel 1969). In Java, however, the land on which the pesantren complexes are built, is usually the personal property of the Kyai. This is not to say that all Kyai are born rich. Indeed many Kyai have struggled to establish their pesantren, and only later have they become rich. There is no

single process by which pesantren grow wealthy. It can be partly explained by the economic ethics of the Kyai which regard wealth as the property of God, a trust which can be spent only for religious purposes. In this manner, the Kyai believe that wealth cannot be consumed simply for physical satisfaction. Another explanation is the high prestige possessed by the Kyai; prestige results in easy access to wealth.

The pondok, the accommodation for the students, is a special feature of the pesantren tradition that distinguishes it from mosque education in most other areas of the Islamic world. In Afghanistan, for example, the students and their unmarried teachers live in the mosque. If the mosque is large, one or two rooms called hujrah (cells) are set aside for the ṭullāb (the students) and mudarrisūn (teachers). Most of the ṭullāb live in the small mosques of the communities (in Java these small mosques are called langgar) in which the teachers live, usually in the vicinity of larger mosques. The ṭullāb are in charge of leading the prayers for the people who come to their mosques; for this they receive food and very simple lodging. At harvest time a small portion of grain goes to the ṭālib (singular of ṭullāb) as ḥaq Allāh (Allāh's right), the share due to God. This and other gifts are for a ṭalib's clothing and pocket money (see Snider 1968 : 34-35).

In Java, pondok range in size from those which have only a few regular students, a single teacher and perhaps an acre or so of land to those that have upwards of three thousand students and a number of full- and part-time Kyai and asātidha (teachers).[1]

In contemporary pesantren, the pondok are made of concrete materials and the construction is financed mainly by the students themselves. The students' responsibility for establishing and bearing the maintenance of the pondok is carried out in many ways. Pesantren Dārussalām, Blok Agung in Banyuwangi, for example, requires each of its students to contribute six thousand rupiahs ($15)[2], provide some wood and a cubic metre of sand, and make two hundred bricks a year. Pesantren Ploso in Kediri requires each of its students to contribute Rp. 7,500 ($18) a year and collect alms from wealthy villagers during harvest time. Pesantren Tebuireng in Jombang requires each of its students to pay Rp. 600 ($1.50) a month as uang pondok (money for building and maintenance of the pondok). Most pesantren in East and Central Java now have more than five hundred students. This necessitates a more formal management,

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1 On the role of asātidha see the discussion in Chapter IV.

2 Before the devaluation in November 1979, US$1 was equivalent with about Rp. 400 in Jombang.

which cannot be sustained from the personal wealth of the Kyai.

There are two main reasons why pesantren have to provide pondok for the students :

1) A Kyai's fame and scholarly knowledge of Islam attracts students from distant areas who cannot commute between their residences and the pesantren complex.

2) Almost all pesantren are located in villages where there is little accommodation available.

Islamic scholars, in most Islamic countries, are city dwellers. Students from distant areas who study under the guidance of these teachers live in rented accommodation easily available in these cities. In Mecca and Medina, the two main centres of Islamic learning, for example, Islamic scholars teach their students in Masjid al-Ḥarām (The Mecca mosque) and Masjid al-Nabawi (The Mosque of the Prophet in Medina).[3] Students, who have mostly come from overseas, live in their own colony. Al-Azhār University in Cairo, Egypt, provides accommodation within the university complex, but unlike pesantren institutions, al-Azhār belongs to the public. Al-Azhar is, therefore,

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3 The mosque of Sunan Ampel in Surabaya built by Sunan Ampel in the sixteenth century, has been regarded as a centre of Islamic learning since the coming of Islam. Study at this mosque is similar to mosque education in the Mecca and Medina mosques, a type of Islamic learning in Muslim cities.

in some ways comparable to a pesantren. Both provide accommodation for the students, who live together in one complex with their teachers (Soad Maher 1967).

The importance of pondok accommodation for students is directly related to the number of students who come from distant areas. At a minor pesantren, for example, students can stay with villagers living near the pesantren; they may only use the pondok as an occasional residence. For a major pesantren, like Tebuireng, students must be content to share a small room (usually about eight square metres) with about ten to fifteen roommates. Not all of these students sleep in the room at night; some of them sleep in the mosque. Of the more than thirteen hundred students in Tebuireng, as many as two hundred students slept regularly in the mosque. These students, however, were assigned to particular rooms where they kept their belongings, such as clothes and books.

The condition of the rooms in a pondok is usually very simple; students sleep on the floor which is made of wood. No students are allowed to own a mattress. The students must keep their clothes in their suitcases on shelves suspended along the walls, because rooms are too small for students to put up a little cupboard. Even students from wealthy families

must accept the simple facilities provided by the pesantren. Students are not allowed to live outside the complex, except those who come from neighbouring villages. The reason for this is so that the students are under the absolute authority of the Kyai, who is not only a teacher but also a substitute father responsible for correcting their behaviour.

In major pesantren, the pondok consists of many blocks of flats, organized into residential sections; each section is occupied by a number of students ranging from fifty to one hundred and twenty. Each section takes its name from a letter of the alphabet, perhaps with a supplementary Arabic name. At Tebuireng, for example, resident Section H takes "al-Azhār" as its additional name.

In general, in most pesantren, there are no special rooms for senior students, many of whom are appointed as junior teachers. They live and sleep together with junior students.

All of the ten major pesantren in West, Central and East Java that I visited during fieldwork owned power generators to provide electric light. In Tebuireng, the power generators were also used to provide water. Bath and toilet facilities are of better standard compared with those of the villagers. Kitchens are provided for these students who prefer to prepare

their own food; in contemporary pesantren, however, these students would be the minority. Most of them *majek*, that is, have their meals in a food-shop twice a day. They pay Rp. 4,000 ($10) or more per month in advance depending on the quality of food they want and the money available. The students who do not majek organize their cooking in groups, each of about ten to twelve members. In this case, one student is usually responsible for the cooking (usually a poor student); he is exempt from paying the monthly contribution of about Rp. 3,000.

The residential sections for female students are usually separated from those of the male students by the houses of the Kyai, mosque, and class-rooms. The conditions in a pondok for female students are no different from those for males.

The pondok system is not only an essential element of the pesantren tradition, it also helps the pesantren tradition to survive. Simple and crowded though the rooms are, young villagers who have, for the first time, moved away from their villages to continue their studies in a strange place, are not bothered with problems of finding accommodation or adjusting to a new social life. In Indonesia, young newcomers from the villages who want to continue their studies often face the problems of finding accommodation. Newcomers in the

pesantren can get a room on the day when they register themselves as santri. The Kyai and senior students help new students to adjust to the new social life of the pesantren.

THE MOSQUE

The mosque is an inseparable element of a pesantren and is considered the most appropriate place for training students, especially in the practice of daily prayers, Friday sermons and prayers, as well as in the teaching of classical Islamic texts.

The reliance on the mosque as a centre for education is not an exclusive feature of the pesantren tradition. Ever since al-Quba mosque was built near Medina during the lifetime of the Prophet Muḥammad, the mosque has served the same purpose. In every part of the Muslim World, it has continued to be the common place of meeting and the centre of the educational, administrative and other cultural activities of the Muslim community. These are purposes which mosques have served for more than thirteen centuries (Encyclopaedia of Islam, III : 346-353). In most areas of the Islamic world less influenced by the West, dedicated scholars instruct their students and give personal certificates as has been the custom since the earliest days of Islam (Snider 1968 : 24-35). The instruction is usually conducted in the mosque.

The pesantren institutions in Java maintain this tradition. The Kyai always teach their students in the mosques and regard the mosque as the most appropriate place for disciplining the students to perform their religious obligations and gain religious knowledge.

When a Kyai wants to develop a pesantren, usually he first builds a mosque close to his house. This step is usually taken under the instruction of the Kyai who taught him and considers him qualified to found a pesantren.

THE TEACHING OF CLASSICAL ISLAMIC TEXTS

Traditionally, the teaching of classical Islamic texts, particularly of the Shafi'ite School, was the only formal education available in the pesantren. The main purpose of this education was to train students to become ʿulamā'. Participants who stayed in the pesantren for a short period and did not intend to become experts in Islam sought the experience of an intense religious life. This was customarily done during the month of Ramaḍan when Muslims are obliged to fast from dawn to dusk, to increase their religious life by intensifying their performance of recommended prayers (sembahyang sunat)[4] and participating in the pengajian.

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4 Especially sembahyang tarawih (either eleven or twenty three raka'ah prayers after obligatory ʿisha' or night prayer during the month of Ramaḍan.

These temporary students, however, must be distinguished from the ordinary students whose main purpose is to master various branches of Islamic knowledge.

Santri who intend to become ʿulamā' develop their expertise in Arabic by the sorogan method in pengajian before they go to study by the bandongan method in the pesantren. Most scholars have wrongly identified the pesantren institutions as the Qur'anic schools. Within traditional Islamic education, the study of Qur'anic chanting is given in the pengajian. Although it is true that many minor pesantren teach the reading of the Qur'an, this is not the main purpose of the pesantren system. Most pesantren now require new candidates to have mastered reading the Qur'an.

In contemporary Java, although most pesantren have included the teaching of secular subjects as an important part of pesantren education, the teaching of classical Arabic texts is maintained to preserve the main aim of pesantren education, i.e. to train ʿulamā', who are faithful to the traditional ideology of Islam.[5]

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[5] On the traditional ideology of Islam, see Chapter VII. It is also important to note here that Pesantren Gontor in Madiun, a major pesantren, has abolished the teaching of classical Arabic texts. Gontor, however, is not yet accepted as the model for future pesantren. There are no other pesantren yet which have followed Gontor in abolishing the teaching of classical texts.

In all, the texts can be classified into eight groups : (1) nahwu (syntax) and sorof (morphology); both are sometimes called ilmu alat,[6] (2) fiqh, (3) usul fiqh, (4) hadīth , (5) tafsīr, (6) tawhīd, (7) tasawwuf and ethics, and (8) miscellaneous texts on tarīkh (history of Islam) and balaghah (Arabic literature). The texts range from very brief ones to substantial multiple volumes of hadīth , tafsīr, fiqh, usul fiqh and tasawwuf. These, in turn, may be categorized further into : (1) elementary texts, (2) intermediate texts, and (3) advanced texts. I have provided a list of these texts and the names of their authors (when available), in Appendix II. The texts used in almost all pesantren throughout Java and Madura are written by particular authors. The teaching method, the sorogan and the bandongan, is similarly followed.[7] A Kyai of a minor pesantren teaches his few students the elementary texts on various subjects. In major pesantren, there are scholars who specialize in the teaching of particular subjects.

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[6] Ilmu alat literally means "The Knowledge of Tools". What it means is the knowledge of Arabic grammar as a tool to master other Arabic texts.

[7] I asked many Kyai in West Java about the reasons they follow the sorogan and bandongan method of translating the classical Islamic texts into Javanese. They said that the traditional Javanese translation could give better understanding of Arabic grammar.

The similar texts and teaching method contributes to a high degree of homogeneity of outlook among the students of pesantren. It must be stressed here that the traditional pesantren training, which seems to be so "static" in following the sorogan and bandongan method of translating the Islamic texts into Javanese, is not concerned mainly with form to the exclusion of content. The reader or translator of the texts within pesantren tradition is not simply someone who reads the texts, but rather someone who gives his own interpretation : both on the content and the language of the texts. So readers must be qualified in Arabic grammar and literature and other branches of religious knowledge.

THE SANTRI

Strictly speaking, an ʿulamā' can be called a Kyai if he has his own pesantren and santri staying in it to learn traditional Islamic texts. The santri are, thus, a necessary element of a pesantren.

According to pesantren tradition, however, there are two groups of santri :

(1) the santri mukim, i.e. the students who live in the pesantren complexes. The most senior santri mukim form a further internal group who are in charge of the daily affairs of the pesantren. They are also in charge of

teaching junior santri on elementary and intermediate Islamic texts. The sons of Kyai normally receive special attention from the Kyai; I do not have, however, any information whether they form a further internal group as happened in Tebuireng during the leadership of Hāshim Ashʿari.[8] As I will show later in Chapter III, these sons of Kyai play very important roles in the future leadership of pesantren institutions. Due to insufficiency of data, however, I cannot provide more discussion of the role of sons of Kyai in the composition of santri in pesantren; (2) the santri _kalong_, i.e. the students who come from surrounding villages and do not usually live in the pesantren complexes.

A santri goes away to a pesantren for a number of reasons : (1) he wants to pursue advanced training which is not available in a pesantren closer to home, (2) he wants to have experience or training in a very well-known pesantren, or (3) he wants to concentrate on his studies and to attend classes in a pesantren without being interrupted by daily obligations to his family and without being troubled by a desire to meet his relatives.

> ... fully equipped as a _boedjak_ or _botjoh pondok_ (pesantren student), I left my closest relatives full of courage and with the intention of not

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8 See further discussion on the sons of Kyai in Chapter III.

> returning before I could be called Alim (learned in religious matters) (Djajadiningrat 1936 : 35).

In the past, going away to a distant pesantren was a privilege for an enterprising santri. He had to be imbued with courage, ambition, ability to control his longing for his family and with wealth enough to support his expensive travel and his living in the pesantren. Upon his return, he was expected by his relatives, friends and fellow villagers to be able to show his qualification in teaching Islam and leading religious rituals. He was also expected to become a person to whom fellow villagers could turn for advice on religious problems. Only a highly motivated and determined candidate would usually be given a chance to study at a distant pesantren. So expensive was the cost of the travel and cost of living in a pesantren, that often it was not just the santri's parents who assumed responsibility for supporting the cost; close relatives and fellow villagers also contributed money to make up part of a santri's monthly living allowance. It was also quite common to find santri, aged fifteen or sixteen, who have been taken as a son-in-law of a wealthy family and given the support by that family. In this way, the boy felt obliged to be successful in his study, because his parents-in-law expected him to become a religious

scholar before he took up his responsibility as a husband. Various examples can be cited from the careers of well-known Kyai :

Kyai Harun, the best-known Kyai in Banyuwangi and the leader of Pesantren Dar al-Naʿjah (The House of Fortune), told me that during his twelve-year stay in Pesantren Tremas in Pacitan, he received about 35 guilders (Dutch currency) per month from his parents. This was a very large amount of money in the 1920's and was collected from close members of his family.

Kyai Tahrīr of Susukan in Salatiga, spent about ten guilders a month when he was in Tremas between 1930 and 1935. He told me that only three santri from his village were able to go to pesantren at that time, because only wealthy families could send their sons to a distant pesantren.

In Pati District, until the 1930's, a santri going to a distant pesantren was given a big farewell party by fellow villagers.

Even in contemporary Java, most pesantren students come from families of well-to-do peasants, small traders or manufacturers, and religious functionaries.[9]

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9 For information on how much money is needed to send a son to Pesantren Tebuireng, see Chapter IV, pp. 179-180.

Minor pesantren essentially provide free education for the Muslim community since these pesantren do not require costly expenditures. However, in my personal experience as a participant in pengajian in Pesantren Tegalsari from 1947 to 1953, I noticed that most participants were the sons of wealthy families from surrounding villages. The reason was probably that children of poor families had no time since they had to help their parents work in the fields.

In short, those who receive a pesantren education, of either minor or major standard, come from relatively wealthy families. This partly explains why most Kyai, haji and those most influenced by santri culture in villages in Java are members of rich peasant families. It would, however, be inaccurate to suggest that the division of Santri and abangan in villages in Java reflects differences in wealth within the community because only some wealthy villagers participate in pesantren education, and many poor peasants participate more in Santri culture than their better-off counterparts.

Since the late 1910's the Kyai have provided pesantren complexes for female santri. The first one in the Jombang District was Pesantren Denanyar, established in 1917. Pengajian were, before this date, the only available education for women.

These pengajian were limited to teaching elementary knowledge of Islam. Some Kyai taught their own daughters advanced knowledge of Islam. Hāshim Ashʿari's oldest daughter, Khairiyyah, for example was so educated that she was able to replace her husband, Kyai Maʿsum ʿAli, as leader of the Pesantren Seblak, when he died in 1932.

The introduction of a pesantren complex for female santri indicates that there was a growing consciousness among the Kyai and the Muslim women of the need for advanced education in Islam for women. Almost all pesantren I visited during my fieldwork provided complexes for female santri. The number of female santri is relatively large. In Cukir, for example, the number of female santri who lived in Seblak and Cukir complexes in 1978 was about 1,100. Like their male counterparts, they came from widely dispersed areas. Unlike Tebuireng, however, those other pesantren I visited had not yet introduced co-education for male and female santri. They were taught separately, and most teachers for female students were males. It seems that the number of female santri in most pesantren is increasing. I do not, however, have enough information to draw conclusions concerning this new phenomenon. My opportunity to communicate with female santri was very limited. At this moment I am willing to propose a

hypothesis as follows : In present-day Indonesia, Santri parents send most of their sons to secular universities so that they are eligible for taking posts in the modern bureaucracy. This is compensated for by training their daughters at the pesantren to be able to maintain the Santri culture.

THE KYAI

A Kyai is the most essential element, as well as often being its founder, of a pesantren. The natural growth of a pesantren depends directly on the personal competence of the Kyai.

Traditionally, the term Kyai refers to three different titles : (1) title of veneration for sacred things; for example, "Kyai Garuda Kencana" which refers to the Golden Coach of the Yogyakarta Court; (2) title of veneration for old people in general; (3) title given by the community to a Muslim scholar who has his own pesantren and teaches classical Islamic texts to his students. As a Muslim scholar who has deep knowledge of Islam, he is entitled to bear the title ʿulamā'.

It is important to note that Islamic scholars in the Muslim World are usually called ʿulamā'. In West Java they are called ajengan. In Central and East Java, ʿulamā' who lead pesantren are called Kyai. At present, however, there are also some influential ʿulamā' who do not lead pesantren but are called Kyai.

With its strong association with the pesantren tradition, the term Kyai commonly refers to traditionalist ʿulamā'. And it is only in this meaning the term Kyai is employed in this thesis.

The Kyai in Java claim that a pesantren is like a <u>kerajaan kecil</u> (small kingdom) in which the Kyai is the absolute source of power and authority. No santri can challenge the authority of the Kyai except another, greater ʿulamā'. Santri always expect their Kyai to be selfconfident in all Islamic matters.

Although most Javanese Kyai live in rural areas, they form an elite group. This is because, as a group, influential ʿulamā' (religious leaders) have been a leading force in Indonesian politics. They are usually wealthy landowners who, rather than engaging in farming, have teaching and preaching as their profession. To perform this job, they need to be politically aware. They are regarded and regard themselves as having an authoritative position either locally or at the national level. Thus, they are effective decision makers in the Javanese social system, not only in religious but also in political matters. Their profession projects their influence beyond the village boundaries where their pesantren are located.

The Kyai, with their austere worship and their emphasis on the scholastic teaching of Islam, have left a gap in the religious life of the majority of Javanese Muslims, particularly the common people. They have their external symbols, the <u>kupyah</u>, the white round cap indicating that they have performed the pilgrimage to Mecca, and the <u>surban</u>, the special cloth of about one square metre which is worn either to cover the head or to drape the shoulders. Ever since Islam first came to Java, Kyai have enjoyed a high social status. Under Dutch colonial rule, the Javanese Sultans concerned themselves principally with the political aspects of their office, leaving Islam, in its stricter sense, to the Kyai,thus fostering an unintended separation of religious and political authority.

In this unofficial separation of powers, an exclusive competence in the sphere of religious law was bestowed on the Kyai. Islamic religious law regulates, not only an individual's relations with God, but also most social and personal relations, thus giving the Javanese Kyai a pervasive role in the community. The mass of Javanese were dependent on the Kyai for guidance and for decisions on such matters as property, marriage, divorce, inheritance, and the like; as a consequence their influence was very strong. This,

coupled with their aloofness from the state, gave them immense moral authority, and marked them off - in effect though not in theory - as a separate learned class.

The Kyai of major pesantren have been able to extend their influence throughout the nation and beyond, and consequently form part of the national elite. Since Independence, many have been appointed as Government Ministers, Members of Parliament, Ambassadors, and as other high government officials.

Being "centres of excellence" the major pesantren train santri who become leaders of minor pesantren that remain culturally and intellectually dependent on originating pesantren. An interdependence between major pesantren and minor pesantren has developed in such a way that major pesantren provide minor pesantren with novice Kyai and minor pesantren provide major pesantren with elementarily trained santri who wish to continue their studies. This process of interdependence has also created an exclusive stratification system among the Kyai which is parallel to the stratification system of modern Indonesia; Kyai of major pesantren are part of a national elite, Kyai of secondary pesantren are part of a provincial elite, while Kyai of minor pesantren are part of a district elite. Since 1971 when the Suharto Government stopped recruiting members of the Cabinet from various political groups,

the Javanese Kyai have not been represented on executive bodies. Nevertheless they are well-represented in the legislative bodies, both at the national level and at the regional level.[10]

Having many santri not only increases the influence and leadership status of a Kyai; it also increases their wealth. Yearly contributions paid by the santri are sometimes spent to increase land ownership (for example Pesantren Ploso in Kediri). This is certainly an important subject that needs to be looked at in greater detail. In many respects, this is very much related to the Kyais' claim that a pesantren is like a small kingdom in which the Kyai has an "absolute" source of power and authority. This claim has thus complicated the power structure of the Javanese political system. It has commonly been accepted that in the Javanese concept of the state-organism, the king is the symbolic expression of the micro-cosmos, the state. That the idea of a cosmos divided into a micro-cosmos - the world of man - and macro-cosmos - the supra human world - is central to the Javanese world view is a fact so well-known as to demand no further

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10 Since 1926 the Kyai have organised themselves in the Jamʿiyyah Nahḍatul ʿUlamā' (NU) as their political arm in the twentieth century's politics of Indonesia. This will be discussed further in the last chapter of this thesis.

proof.[11] Islamic theology, however, has placed the ruler in a less august position than during the Hindu-Majapahit Kingdom. Although Islam has not been able to undermine the essential assertion of the king-god identification, the ruler and his regional officers have to reassert themselves, since Islam became the new religion of the Javanese, in the new power-hierarchy in competition with the bearers of Islam, the Kyai, who, in the course of their religious activities, have acquired political influence as well. Soemarsaid Moertono suggests that this power struggle which on and off lasted far into the later Mataram period usually was decided in favour of the "secular" authorities. But there always lingered the possibility of a rivalry between the representatives of "secular power", the priyayi, and that of religious leaders, the Kyai, in establishing social leadership in the Javanese community, and it must be stressed that in most of political conflicts up to the present time the Kyai-element has always played a decisive role (Moertono 1963 : 29).

To become a Kyai, a novice must progress through various stages. To begin with, he is usually a close relative of a Kyai. After completing his

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[11] See further, Soemarsaid Moertono (1963), and R. Heine-Geldern (1942).

studies at various pesantren, the older Kyai train him to establish his own pesantren. Sometimes the older Kyai leads and finances the new project because the young Kyai is a good potential ʿulamāʾ. The old Kyai will find him a spouse, encourage him to use the later part of his stay in the pesantren to become a Kyai. This was what Kyai Hāshim Ashʿari of Tebuireng did for Kyai Manaf, the founder of Pesantren Lirboyo, Kyai Zainuddin, the founder of Pesantren Ploso, Kediri, and Kyai Zuber, the founder of Pesantren Reksosari in Salatiga. Toward the end of their stay in Tebuireng, these three santri were appointed as teachers and members of the mushāwarah class. They were responsible for organising students, placing new students, meeting parents who visited their children in the pesantren. When Kyai Hashim considered them mature enough to lead a pesantren, he arranged their marriages with women from the place where these young Kyai were to develop their new pesantren. For their early years as new Kyai, they were also allowed by Kyai Hāshim to bring with them some santri from Tebuireng to be their first students.

Pesantren Dār al-Salām in Blok Agung, Banyuwangi, which was established in 1951, followed the same pattern as that of Lirboyo, Ploso and Reksosari.

Kyai Mukhtār, the founder of the Pesantren, settled in Blok Agung in 1949. He was born in Kediri and spent twenty-three years studying in various pesantren.

When he was in Pesantren Jalen Genteng in Banyuwangi between 1937 and 1949, he assisted his Kyai in teaching the students not only elementary and intermediate texts but also advanced texts. Some of these students continued to study kitab under his instruction at Blok Agung. Blok Agung at this time was still very sparsely populated. On 15 January 1951, Kyai Mukhtar built a small musollā (small mosque) only seven metres long, five metres wide and two and a half metres high to serve as a place for performing daily prayers, teaching and accommodating his students. Within a year, his students had increased in number until the musollā was too small for them all to sleep in it. He then instructed his students to get timber from a nearby forest and sand from a nearby river, and make bricks. The students' parents were asked to donate some sacks of cement and other building materials. Some months later, the old musollā was replaced by a larger mosque. A pondok was only added later when more and more students came.

The building of a new block of students' rooms always follows the practice used in building the mosque, i.e. that the students have to provide the

timber, bricks and sand and do the work in preparing and erecting the building. To provide building materials which had to be purchased, such as cement, nails, etc., the pesantren Dār al-Salām has imposed a yearly contribution of about $15 on each student.[12]

The Kyai is expected to show his scholarly qualifications. The more advanced the texts he teaches, the more there is to be proud of. He is also expected to show his leadership, self-confidence and competence since people come to him to ask advice and guidance in all matters. He is expected to be humble, pay respect to all people regardless of their social class, wealth and education, be ascetic and full of devotion to God and never cease in his religious leadership, i.e. leading daily prayers, giving sermons on Friday and accepting invitations to the ceremonies of his people.

A good example of the daily and weekly life of a Kyai is that of Kyai Mukhtar Shafaʿat of Pesantren Dār al-Salām Blok Agung in Banyuwangi : When I visited him on the afternoon of 8 June 1978, I

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12 When I visited the pesantren on 8 June 1978, there were seventeen concrete pondok dwellings consisting of 105 rooms occupied by 2,062 male students and 607 female students. The total students in 1978 numbered 3,177; of which 508 came from surrounding villages.

was surprised to see on the notice board that the time for visiting the Kyai was between 7 and 9 a.m., and 10 and 12 p.m. A santri took me to the Kyai's son who greeted me and stayed with me for about ten minutes. When he learned that I was the nephew of Kyai Shukri Gozali, one of Kyai Mukhtar's teachers when he studied in Pesantren Tebuireng between 1928-1936, the Kyai's son went to inform the Kyai. Ten minutes later, Kyai Mukhtar came out to greet me. When I apologized for having disturbed him during his afternoon sleep which he badly needed, he answered that it was an honour for him to welcome me because I had made such a long journey to see him and his pesantren.

After staying in this pesantren for two days, I then understood why Kyai Mukhtar set the time between 7 and 9 a.m. and 10 and 12 p.m. for welcoming guests. On weekdays (Saturday to Thursday), Kyai Mukhtar begins the day by leading subuh prayer in the mosque at 5 a.m. When this is finished at 5.15, he teaches for an hour and a half. At the time of my visit, he was reading Ihya' al-ʿUlūmuddīn (Illuminating the Science of Religion), a two-volume Sufi text written by al-Gozali (d. 1111). From 7 to 9 a.m. he receives guests (mostly his santri, santri's parents or people

from surrounding villages). He has his "small" breakfast, i.e. coffee and some cakes during this period while he is with his guests. From 9 to 12, he teaches senior santri on various subjects. From 12-1 p.m. he takes a rest and has his lunch at home until the time for leading zuhur prayer. He teaches again after zuhur prayer until 2 p.m. From 2 to 4 p.m. he has his afternoon sleep until ʿasar. After leading ʿasar prayer he teaches Ihya' al-ʿUlumuddīn again until 5.45. He comes back to the mosque at 6.15 to lead maghrib (sunset prayer) which is followed by teaching senior santri until 8 p.m. From 8 to 9 p.m. he takes a rest and has his dinner after leading ʿisha' prayer. He spends his time between 9 and 10 p.m. reading texts needed to solve the problems on Islamic matters that he encounters during his teachings or to answer questions on religious matters sent by the public. From 10 to 12 p.m., he receives guests. He goes to bed at 1 a.m. and starts his daily round again at 5 a.m. by leading subuh prayer.

On Fridays, there is no teaching in the pesantren, but Kyai Mukhtar is not free from social and religious obligations. This is the special day which he devotes to attending ceremonies such as marriages in the surrounding villages. Villagers generally decide

to have marriage and other cycle ceremonies on Fridays, in the expectation that Kyai Mukhtar will give his blessings on these occasions.

As an established Islamic scholar directing his own religious school, the Kyai naturally enjoys a great deal of prestige and has long occupied the focal position in the social structure of local rural society. He is regarded as a specialist in communicating Islam to the peasants, and it is quite natural that, in a community where almost everyone is a Muslim, the status of the Kyai should rank high and that he should be regarded as the epitome of social prestige (cf. Sartono Kartodirdjo 1966 : 59-67; also Sartono Kartodirdjo 1973 : 7-8 and 67-76). His social role, as the main connecting link between the local system and the supra-village sphere,[13] is pregnant with possibilities for both securing and enhancing his social power. The Kyai derives his charismatic leadership from his knowledge of Islam, his pilgrimage to Mecca, his dedication to teaching santri, his faithfulness to God's commands and his learned and saintly life.

The Kyai is frequently regarded by his santri as the source of <u>barakah</u>. The term "barakah"

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[13] The Kyai occupies a pivotal position between - in Redfield's terminology - the Great and the Little Tradition (Redfield 1956).

originally means "blessing" or "reward" from Allah. In Java, however, the term barakah is frequently conceived of by the Santri as God's reward given to him through the interference of the Kyai. The Kyai's interference, however, is passive.[14] The Kyai does not hold the authority for distributing God's blessing, nor does he act by his own will as a broker of God's reward. The Kyai cannot bless his santri. God, however, will reward the santri only if the santri is faithful to the Kyai's guidance, and he always pays respect for the Kyai. In other words, so long as the santri is faithful to and pays respect for the Kyai, God will always bless the santri. Moreover, the Kyai in Java especially employ the term barakah to explain the happiness and the knowledge of the santri. For a santri who is successful in life, for example, if he is happy in his marriage or successful in leading a pesantren, or successful in his business, it is usually spoken of as due to the barakah of his Kyai. Similarly, for a santri who is successful in his study, it is also spoken of as due to barakahe Kyai (the Kyai's barakah). I suggest that the concept of barakah serves mainly to preserve an everlasting bond between the santri and his Kyai. This is to say that for a santri

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[14] The stress is mine.

who neglects his relationship with his Kyai, he will lose the Kyai's barakah.[15] It also serves to strengthen the students' seriousness in acquiring the Kyai's knowledge and in maintaining the pesantren tradition. For example, the success of a santri in developing a pesantren is said to be due to the barakah of his Kyai. In this manner, a santri who has acquired advanced knowledge of Islam, but does not teach any students is said to have lost the barakah of his Kyai.

In formal meetings, the Kyai is always addressed as "al-mukarram Bapak Kyai ..." (the honourable Kyai ...). This is appropriate to a man beloved of God who is entitled to inherit the honour and leadership of the Prophet Muhammad,[16] since he is ordered by Allah to uphold and be responsible for the preservation of true Islamic teachings and its spread in the world community. In most of their public speeches, the Kyai refer to God's command to Muslims to compete in showing good conduct and obedience (fastabiq al-khairah). The most honoured among Muslims is the most obedient.[17] It is

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15 See further discussion on teacher-student relationship in Chapter III.

16 The hadith says "Al-ʿUlamā' warathah al Ambiyā'" which means that the ʿulama' are the inheritors of the Prophets (see K.H. Aḥmad Siddiq 1977 : iii).

17 Qur'an 49 : 13.

natural then that the Kyai is regarded as the epitome of social prestige. As Muslim scholars, imbued with a strong sense of duty and a firm commitment to maintaining pesantren leadership and preserving their position as part of the elite sector of the Javanese community, these Kyai have formed a distinctive group. This group is maintained by means of a complex network of intellectual and genealogical relationships that need to be examined in detail.

CHAPTER THREE

INTELLECTUAL AND GENEALOGICAL RELATIONS AMONG KYAI

Since the Kyai is the progenitor and most essential element of a pesantren, the growth of a pesantren depends on the personal competence of the Kyai. The endurance of a certain pesantren therefore depends a great deal on the ability of the pesantren to obtain a new authoritative Kyai on the death of the previous Kyai. It has, however, been commonly recognized in Java that traditional pesantren suffer from a lack of continuity in their leadership (Noer 1973 : 75). From my study of the history of numerous pesantren, rarely do pesantren endure more than a century; many lose their authority after about thirty or forty years. Kyai are, however, quite aware of this problem. A Kyai is always concerned with the preservation of his own pesantren after his death, but, more importantly, he is also concerned with the continuity of the pesantren tradition. In this chapter I shall describe how the Kyai attempt to deal with this problem.

The Kyais' best means of preserving the pesantren tradition is by the establishment of solidarity and cooperation among themselves. Thus they have developed : (1) a tradition that their immediate relatives should become their potential successors to pesantren leadership; (2) a network of endogamous marriage alliance among Kyai families; and (3) a tradition of intellectual transmission of knowledge among Kyai and their immediate families. In this way, the disappearance of an old pesantren can be compensated for by the appearance of the new ones. This means that any new pesantren that replaces an earlier one does not represent a fresh beginning; the cultural and religious heritage of previous pesantren are never lost.

KINSHIP RELATIONS AMONG KYAI : THE SOCIAL GENEALOGY OF THE PESANTREN LEADERS

From one generation to another, the Kyai have paid special attention to training their own sons to become successors in their pesantren institutions. If a Kyai has more than one son, he usually expects his oldest son to succeed him as the future leader of his pesantren, while the younger ones are trained to be able to establish a new pesantren, or succeed their fathers-in-law who are also mostly pesantren leaders. Most Kyai also take their most able students as sons-in-

law, especially if these students are sons or relatives of other Kyai, in order to prepare them as potential successors to pesantren leadership. In this way, the Kyai are inter-related by a multiplicity of kinship ties. The more well-known the Kyai, the more extensive his kinship ties are likely to be with other Kyai. It is not an exaggeration to assert that the running of pesantren has become the interest of particular Javanese "kin" groups, i.e. the Kyai families. The relative strength and extensiveness of kinship ties among Kyai contribute further to the unity and integration of the Kyai. The following social genealogy of the descendants of Kyai Sihah, the founder of the Pesantren Tambakberas in Jombang in 1830, illustrates the extent of relationships among pesantren, and contribution of kinship to the growth of new pesantren.

KYAI SIHAH had four daughters and six sons. He married his oldest child, Layyīnah, to his student, Kyai ʿUthmān who established Pesantren Gedang in Jombang in the early 1850's. Kyai ʿUthmān had several sons, one of them succeeded him as the leader of Pesantren Gedang, and the others established new pesantren. Kyai ʿUthmān married one of his daughters, Winih, to his most able student, Kyai Ashʿari who came from Demak. Kyai Ashʿari established Pesantren Keras, eight kilometres to the

southeast of Jombang in 1876 (Abubakar 1957 : 62). He, in turn, had four daughters and seven sons. His oldest son, Kyai Sāleh, succeeded him as the leader of Pesantren Keras. The present leader of Pesantren Keras is a direct descendant of Kyai Saleh.

Kyai Ashʿari's third son, Kyai Hāshim is usually spoken of in Java as Hadratus-Shaikh[1] and it is by this name that I shall refer to him in this thesis. Hadratus-Shaikh established Pesantren Tebuireng in 1899, assisted by his brother-in-law, Kyai Alwi. Hadratus-Shaikh had seven daughters and six sons. One of his sons-in-law, Kyai Maʿsum ʿAli, established Pesantren Seblak, close to the Pesantren Tebuireng. The other sons-in-law were appointed as staff members of the Pesantren Tebuireng. His three sons, Wahid Hāshim, Khāliq Hāshim and Yusuf Hāshim successively succeeded him as the leader of Pesantren Tebuireng.

KYAI SIHAH married his second child, Fatīmah, to another of his students, Kyai Sā'id, who, upon Kyai Sihah's death, succeeded as the leader of the Pesantren Tambakberas. Kyai Sā'id had several children; one of them, Kyai Hasbullāh, succeeded Kyai Sā'id as the leader of the Pesantren Tambakberas. Kyai Hasbullāh had three sons

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1 Hadrah literally means the particular person being discussed or dealt with, the honourable, the distinguished; shaikh means teacher, advanced teacher. When the Kyai in Java refer to Kyai Hāshim Ashʿari as Hadratus-Shaikh, they mean Hāshim Ashʿari as a Great Teacher, the "Grand Scholar".

and three daughters. He married one of his daughters to Kyai Bishri, who came from Pati, Central Java, and was a class-mate of Kyai Hasbullāh's son, Kyai Wahab. Kyai Bishri established Pesantren Denanyar in Jombang in 1917. Kyai Wahab, the oldest son of Kyai Hasbullāh, succeeded as the leader of the Pesantren Tambakberas until his death in December 1971. He was then succeeded by his newphew, Kyai Fatah Hāshim, one of Fatīmah's sons. Kyai Wahab married one of his daughters to Kyai Mustaʿīn the leader of the Pesantren Peterongan in Jombang. Kyai Fatah Hāshim married one of his child to his most able student, Kyai Muhammad Sahal Mahfuẓ, the son of Kyai Mahfuẓ, the leader of the Pesantren Maslakul-Hudā (Studies Centre for Religious Guidance) in Kajen, Pati. Kyai Muhammad Sahal is now the leader of the Pesantren Maslakul-Hudā (see Diagram II).

The marriage alliances between Hadratus-Shaikh and other Kyai families in East, Central and West Java are more extensive : His first daughter Khairiyyah was married to Kyai Maʿsum, the grandson of Kyai ʿAbdul Jabbar, the founder of the well-known Pesantren Maskumambang in Gresik. Kyai Maʿsum was one of Ḥaḍratus-Shaikh's able students who later became a great Kyai (Abubakar 1957 : 483) and founded the

Pesantren Seblak. This marriage alliance with keluarga Kyai ʿAbdul Jabbar (Kyai ʿAbdul Jabbar's kindred) was reinforced by the marriage of Kyai Adlan, Kyai Maʿsum's brother, with one of Ḥaḍratus-Shaikh's nieces. Kyai Adlan is now a great Kyai and the leader of the Qādiriyah wa'l-Naqshabandiyah Tarekat, a powerful tarekat in East Java, which is based in the Pesantren Tebuireng.[2] When Kyai Maʿsum died in 1933, Khairiyyah was remarried to Kyai ʿAbdul Muhaimin ʿAzīz, the son of a great Kyai in Rembang. Kyai Khalil Rembang was one of Kyai ʿAbdul Muhaimīn's nephews, who was later successful in developing the Pesantren Lasem in Rembang as a major pesantren in Java.

Two daughters of Nyai Khairiyyah, by her first marriage ʿĀbidah and Jamīlah, became important in this marriage alliance. ʿAbidah was married to Kyai Mahfuẓ, the son of Kyai Anwar who founded and led the Pesantren Paculgowang in Jombang. Jamīlah was married to Kyai Nūr ʿAzīz Maʿsum, the brother of Kyai Mashkur the leader of the Pesantren Singosari in Malang. Kyai Mashkur was for a long time the Minister of Religious Affairs, and is now the Vice Chairman of the Parliament in Jakarta.

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[2] This tarekat will be discussed in Chapter VI

Hadratus-Shaikh's second daughter, ʿĀ'ishah, was married to Kyai Ahmad, the son of Kyai Baidawi, a great Kyai in Banyumas, Central Java. One of Kyai Baidawi's great-grandsons, Kyai Saifuddīn Zuhri, became the Minister of Religious Affairs between 1961-1967. The marriage alliance with keluarga Kyai Baidawi was reinforced by the marriage of Khāliq Hāshim, Hadratus-Shaikh third son, with the niece of Kyai Ahmad. Another reinforcement of this marriage alliance happened in the 1960's when Farida, one of Saifuddīn's daughters was married to the son of Wahid Hāshim.

The third daughter, ʿIzzah, was married to Kyai Romly who, after studying for some years under Hadratus-Shaikh, succeeded Kyai Tamim as the leader of the well-known Pesantren Peterongan in Jombang. When this marriage ended in a divorce, Hadratus-Shaikh married Kyai Romly to the niece of Nafīqah, Hadratus-Shakikh's wife. ʿIzzah, then, was remarried to Kyai Idris, the son of Kyai Kamali who was a great Kyai in Cirebon, West Java.

From his daughter ʿĀ'ishah, Hadratus-Shaikh had five grandsons and two granddaughters. Two died when they were young. Muhammad, the oldest, was married to the daughter of Kyai Wahab Hasbullāh, a cousin of Hadratus-Shaikh and successor of the Pesantren Tambakberas. Hamid,

ʿĀʾishah's second son, was married to the daughter of Wahid Hashim. Ruqayyah, ʿĀʾishah's daughter was married to Kyai Yusuf Mashhar, a Kyai from Tuban.

Hadratus-Shaikh had six sons. The first died prematurely. I have mentioned the third son who was married to a niece of Kyai Ahmad Baidawi. The second son, Wahid Hāshim was married to Nyai Salehah, the daughter of Kyai Bishri Shamsuri, the founder of the Pesantren Denanyar. The fourth son, Kyai ʿAbdulkarīm was married to the daughter of a wealthy Kyai in Jombang. Yusuf Hāshim, the fifth son was married to the great-granddaughter of Kyai Ilyas of Sewulan, whose marriage reinforced the alliance between Hadratus-Shaikh's family and Kyai Ilyas of Sewulan. The sixth son had not yet married when I was in the field.

Last but not least, Hadratus-Shaikh married his daughter Fatīmah to Kyai Ḥafiẓ Dimyāti, the leader of the Pesantren Tremas in Pacitan, a pesantren renowned since the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The diagram II shows the principal genealogical connections and marriage alliances between Hadratus-Shaikh and other great Kyai in East, Central and West Java.

Diagram II

Kinship Inter-connections between HADRATUS-SHAIKH and other Kyai in East, Central and West Java
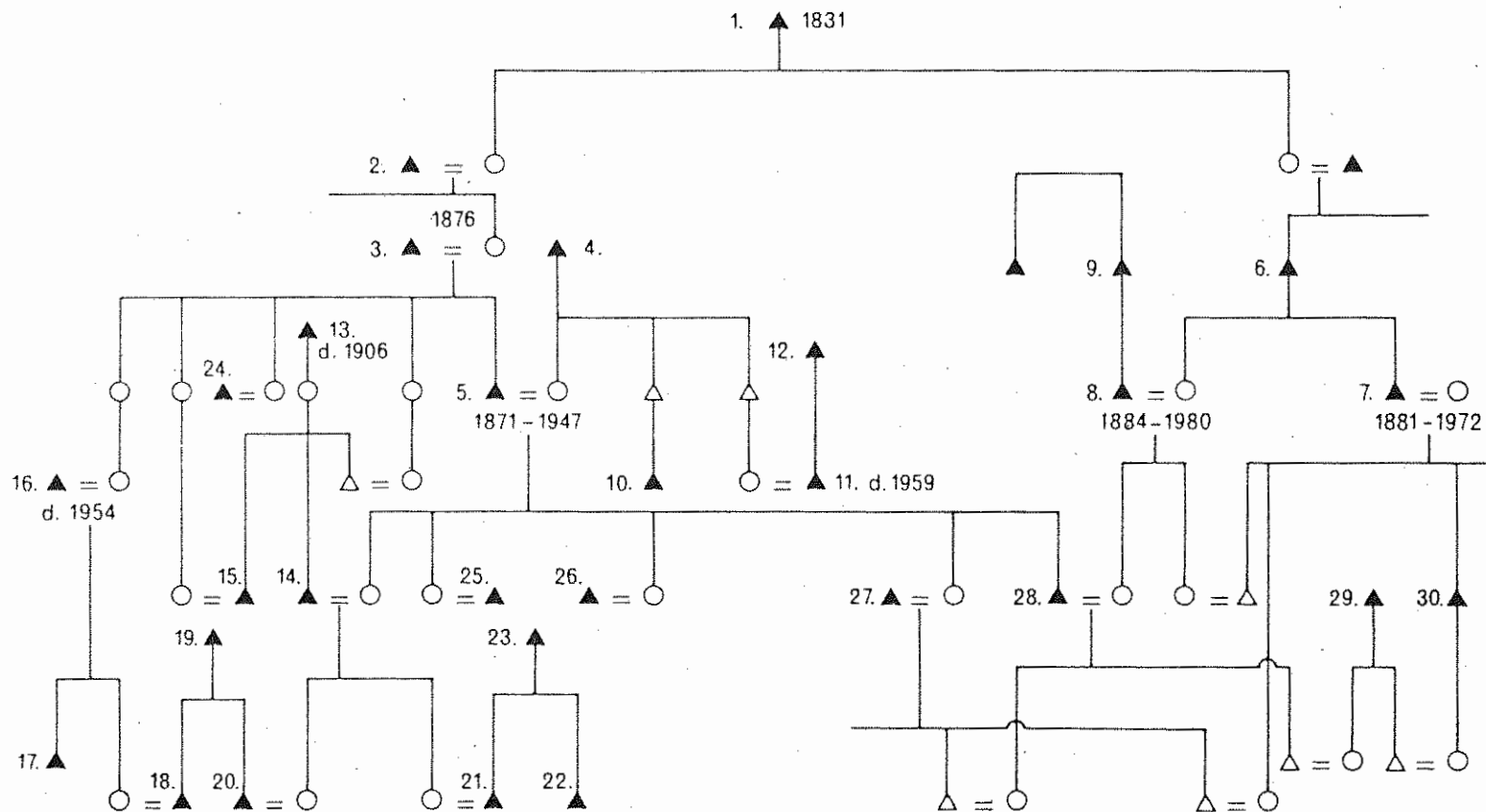
Diagram II

The principal genealogical connections and marriage alliances between Hadratus-Shaikh and other Kyai in East, Central and West Java

1. Kyai Sihah, the founder of Pesantren Tambakberas
2. Kyai ʿUthmān, the founder of Pesantren Gedang
3. Kyai Ashʿāri, the founder of Pesantren Keras
4. Kyai Ilyas of Pesantren Sewulan
5. Kyai Hāshim Ashʿāri, the founder of Pesantren Tebuireng
6. Kyai Hasbullah, the successor of Pesantren Tambakberas
7. Kyai Wahab Hasbullah, President of NU 1947-1972
8. Kyai Bishri Shamsuri, the founder of Pesantren Denanyar
9. Kyai Tayu, Rembang
10. Kyai Muhammad Ilyas, Minister of Religious Affairs
11. Kyai Romly, the successor of Pesantren Peterongan
12. Kyai Tamim, the founder of Pesantren Peterongan
13. Kyai ʿAbdul Jabbar, the founder of Pesantren Maskumambang
14. Kyai Maʿsum, the founder of Pesantren Seblak
15. Kyai Adlan ʿAli, the founder of Pesantren Cukir
16. Kyai Manaf ʿAbdulkarim, the founder of Pesantren Lirboyo
17. Kyai Mahrus, the successor of Pesantren Lirboyo
18. Kyai Mansur Anwar, the successor of Pesantren Paculgowang
19. Kyai Anwar, the founder of Pesantren Paculgowang
20. Kyai Mahfuz Anwar, the founder of Madrasah Sunan Ampel
21. Kyai Nuraziz of Pesantren Singosari, Malang
22. Kyai Mashkur, currently the Vice Chairman of Parliament
23. Kyai Maʿsum, the founder of Pesantren Singosari, Malang
24. Kyai Alwi of Pesantren Keras
25. Kyai Idris of Cirebon
26. Kyai Hafiz Dimyati of Pesantren Tremas
27. Kyai Ahmad Baidawi of Banyumas
28. Kyai Wahid Hāshim, Minister of Religious Affairs (1949-1952)
29. Kyai Saifuddin Zuhri (as above, 1960-1967)
30. Kyai Ahmad Shaikhu, former Chairman of Parliament

It must be stressed here that the description of these relationships and the accompanying diagrams provide a simplified view of a complex network of relations. The reality of these kinship networks and the expansion of the pesantren institutions is far more intricate. I simply do not have sufficient information to trace Sihah's or Hadratus-Shaikh's entire kin network. For example, I do not know anything about Kyai Sihah's two younger daughters or his six sons, or of Kyai Uthman's other children, or of Hadratus-Shaikh's brothers and sisters, and so forth.

THE JAVANESE KYAI'S FAMILY

Kinship among the Kyai plays a comparatively greater role in structuring economic, political and religious behaviour than among the average Javanese villagers (Dhofier 1980 : 52). Kyai cannot be considered an open class because of their strong in-group feeling and their preference for endogamous marriage. Although admission to membership is not ascribed by birth, they have developed an established tradition that their descendants (especially sons and grandsons) and their immediate relatives (especially sons-in-law), have a greater right to be recruited as new members.

The Kyai are particularly responsible for "protecting" their family and immediate relatives from losing God's blessing : "Protect yourself and your ahli from being thrown into Hell" (Qur'an 66 : 6). The expression ahli is frequently translated as sanak-keluargamu (your relatives). Thus the Qur'anic injunction is not confined to the members of the Kyai's nuclear family.

A successful pesantren leader also relies on the support of his immediate relatives. He needs badal (staff) to organize his pesantren and to teach santri,many of whom may be recruited from his immediate relatives.[3] In his early career as a Kyai, before his own children have grown up, he gives special training to his younger brothers and nephews, and sends them to some well-known pesantren, hoping that upon their return, they can help him to develop his own pesantren. Very frequently, he takes in his successful nephews as his sons-in-law. His immediate relatives also share the prestige and privilege enjoyed by the Kyai.

The members of his nuclear family are entitled to special prestige. His wife is known by the title nyai. In East Java, his sons (and sometimes

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3 Only later when the pesantren becomes a major pesantren the Kyai will appoint his senior santri as the badal.

his grandsons) are known by the title gus, which derives from the word "si bagus" meaning "the handsome one".[4] There is, however, no special title for a Kyai's daughters. A Kyai sees his gus as the most likely successors to his pesantren leadership. If he has no son, one of his sons-in-law will become the potential successor. For this reason, a Kyai always gives special training to his gus and potential sons-in-law to insure a qualified successor.

By fostering the public image that gus inherit the spiritual attributes of their fathers, the Kyai have tended to legitimate their sons as their rightful successors. This is very important because pesantren are public institutions in the sense that they involve public interests, but simultaneously, they are privately owned and developed by the Kyai. Yet the sons of Kyai are always subject to external competition to their succeeding their fathers.

As exceptional persons, most gus are believed to be able to acquire "al- ʿIlm al-Ladunnī" : an ability to master various branches of Islamic knowledge without

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4 According to Dr Soebardi, the title gus within the pesantren tradition has been in use in Java since the eighteenth century. He suggests, however, that "gus" is an address rather than a title (Personal communications, 17 December 1979 and 7 July 1980).

studying them.[5] In other words, God blesses gus with Islamic knowledge from the time they are born. They are born to become Muslim scholars, and they are born to lead pesantren. Al-ʿIlm al-Ladunnī are Arabic words meaning "Knowledge which comes from the Truth Itself", "Knowledge comes directly from on high, the fruit of ilhām (the quickening of the personal human soul by universal Spirit, generally translated as "personal inspiration"). As a mystical term, al-ʿIlm al-Ladunnī means "Knowledge possessed by the saints which enters the heart directly from the creative Truth Itself" (see Trimingham 1971 : 304).

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5 The Kyai, however, believe that al-ʿilm al-ladunnī can also be acquired by non-Kyai children. The parents hope that God will give them children who possess al-ʿilm al-ladunnī by performing the following practices and rituals : (a) during pregnancy, the parents must always be in harmony with each other, especially after the seventh month of pregnancy, when they are not allowed to quarrel, and the husband may not be angry with his wife; (b) immediately after birth adhān and iqomah (both terms are used to refer to the call to prayer) rituals must be offered; (c) honey must be the first food given to the baby, and before the honey is given, the feeder must pronounce "Bismillāh al-rahmān al-rahīm" (In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful) 786 times; (d) the mother must not suckle the baby while she is angry; (e) as soon as the child reaches three years of age he must be taught tawhid; (f) when he is five years old, he must be taught to read the Qur'an and must learn the obligatory rituals; (g) when he reaches adulthood, he must practise qanaʿah (ascetism) such as fasting; and (h) the parents and the child should always prihatin (practice of an austere life). (I thank Kyai Khalil of Garut who explained to me all these aspects of al-ʿilm al-ladunnī on 17 January 1980.)

Kyai Khalil, my informant, gave me an example of a Kyai's son who possessed al-ʿilm al-ladunnī. He was Kyai Zainuddīn, the leader of Pesantren al-Hudā (The Guidance) in Tarogong, about six kilometres northwest of Garut. His father Kyai Ilyas sent him to study at the Sekolah Menengah Pertama in Garut between 1954-1957. When his father died in 1958, however, Zainuddīn was only seventeen years old. As the oldest son, he succeeded his father as the leader of his pesantren. Despite his age, he has been successful in leading the Pesantren al-Hudā and teaching advanced Islamic texts to the students.[6] In fact Pesantren al-Huda had, in 1978, six hundred students.

To other santri and the people in general, however, the Kyai always say :

> Study hard, for nobody was born as an ʿālim (One who possesses expert knowledge of the religious sciences)
> Remember, that men of knowledge
> Cannot be equated with men without knowledge.
> (Source : My personal records of the speech of Kyai Adlan ʿAli in the Pesantren Seblak on 15 April 1978)

The title gus is very important because there is a strong tradition within the pesantren system

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6 One of his students, Edy Suhrawardy, is now an ustadh in the Pesantren Tebuireng. When I was in Tebuireng between 1977 and 1978, Edy Suhrawardy was completing his BA degree at the Faculty of Islamic Law at the University of Hāshim Ashʿari.

that a gus who continues his studies in other pesantren receives special attention from the Kyai so that his knowledge and leadership achievements may surpass other santri. In the Pesantren Tebuireng during the life of Hadratus-Shaikh, all gus were accommodated in a special ward.[7]

Most Kyai also foster the public image that some Kyai are exceptional persons who possess such spiritual attributes as karāmah (grace, thaumaturgic, charismatic gifts) and become sources of barakah (holiness, virtue as inherent spiritual power) for their followers; in other words, people believe in Kyai as the channel of God's sanctity and grace. The belief, however, is held only so long as the Kyai are wiraʿi (a man who always refrains from conduct prohibited by Islam). Because most people believe that the Kyai possess karāmah and are the source of barakah, they can become charismatic leaders. Karāmah, barakah and ʿilm (Islamic knowledge) are essential elements for pesantren leadership. Almost

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[7] To other santri, however, the reason, it was said, that all gus were accommodated in a special ward was so that other santri would not be influenced by those gus, who generally misbehaved. In this manner, the Kyai refuse to admit that they give special attention to gus. Indeed, the Kyai strongly believe that it is their duty to teach students without discriminating them according to their social and economic background. In this respect, the Kyai hold an egalitarian rather than elitist ideology of education. However, the Kyai also believe that gus have greater responsibility than non-gus for gus are "expected" to succeed their fathers' in leading their pesantren.

all well-known Kyai who were able to develop big pesantren are classified as Kyai who possess extraordinary karāmah and barakah. It seems to me, however, that these spiritual attributes were only added when they had become well-known Kyai, and they are fostered by most Kyai to preserve their popularity and to attract santri. What makes Kyai well-known is primarily their outstanding competence in various branches of Islamic knowledge and their organizational ability in developing their pesantren either by manipulating and extending kinship ties among other well-known Kyai or by training highly capable novice Kyai. Hadratus-Shaikh, the greatest and the best known Kyai throughout Indonesia during the first half of the twentieth century is an excellent example.[8] First of all, he was born of a distinguished family of Kyai (see Diagram II). Secondly, he was married seven times to women of distinguished Kyai families. His first wife was Khadījah, the daughter of Kyai Sewulan in Panji, Surabaya, a well-known Kyai during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Khadijah died after only a year of their marriage. He was then married to Nafiqah, the daughter of Kyai Ilyas, the leader of the important Pesantren Sewulan in Madiun. Kyai Ilyas himself was born of a distinguished Kyai family who traced their

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8 See his biography on page 135 ff.

ancestors to Panembahan Senopati, the founder of the Mataram Kingdom at the end of the sixteenth century Java (see Diagram III). Masrūrah, another wife and one who is still alive, was the daughter of Kyai Ilyas, the leader of Pesantren Kapurejo in Kediri. Thirdly, Hadratus Shaikh married his children and grandchildren to women of distinguished Kyai families.

KINSHIP IDEALS AMONG THE KYAI

I have described at length the extensiveness and exclusiveness of kinship relations among Kyai. I now wish to consider the ideals or values which have contributed to the strength of the kinship ties among the Kyai. Before I do this, however, I ought to stress that, for the Kyai, the approximation of behaviour to the ideals of kinship is very close. The Kyai as a teacher and preacher must exemplify for their followers the Islamic ideals taught to them. Otherwise, he would never be successful in gaining the hearts of his students. It is also important to point out that by closely following Islamic kinship ideals, the Kyai are at the same time serving their own group-interests.

The Javanese Kyai regard the family unit as the foremost, fundamental institution of the Muslim community. A family is established by the coming together of a man and a woman, and their contact brings

Diagramm III[a]

The Genealogy of Nyai Hāshim Ashʿari taken from Abubakar (1957 : 959)

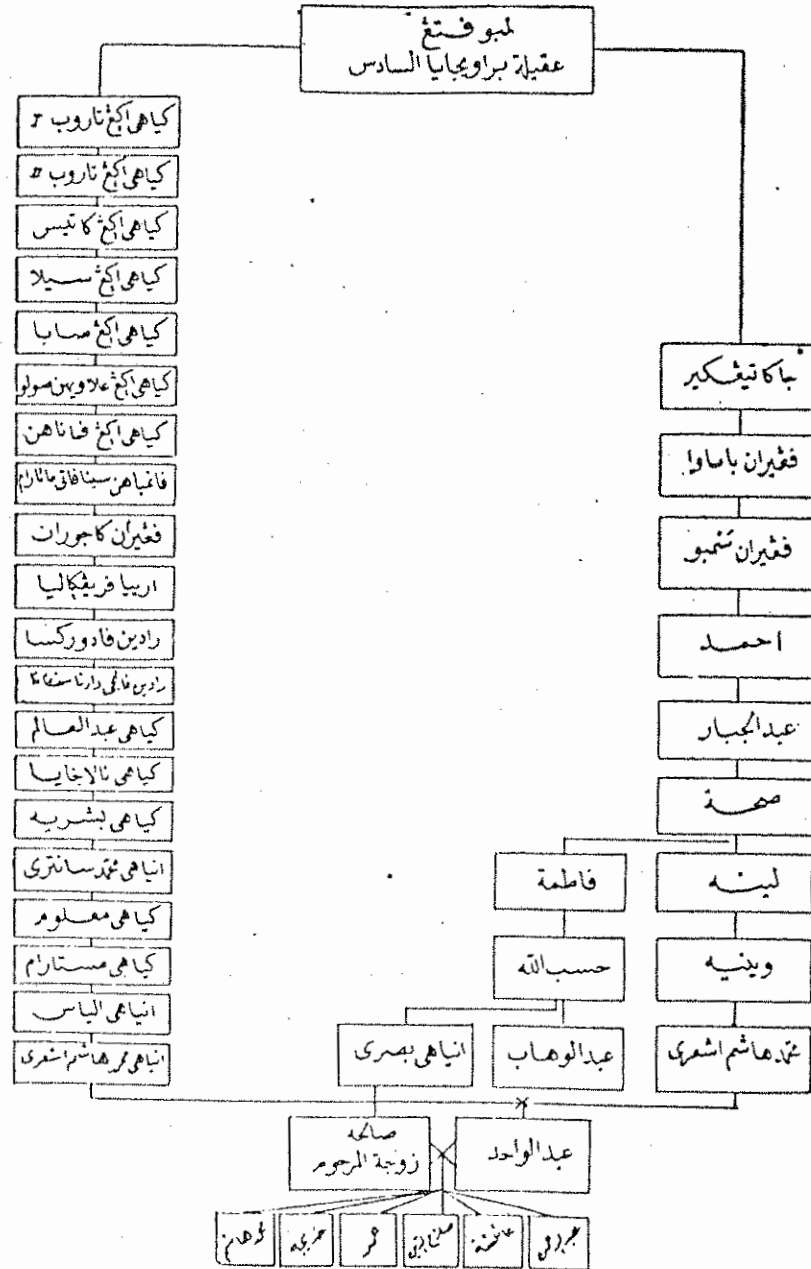
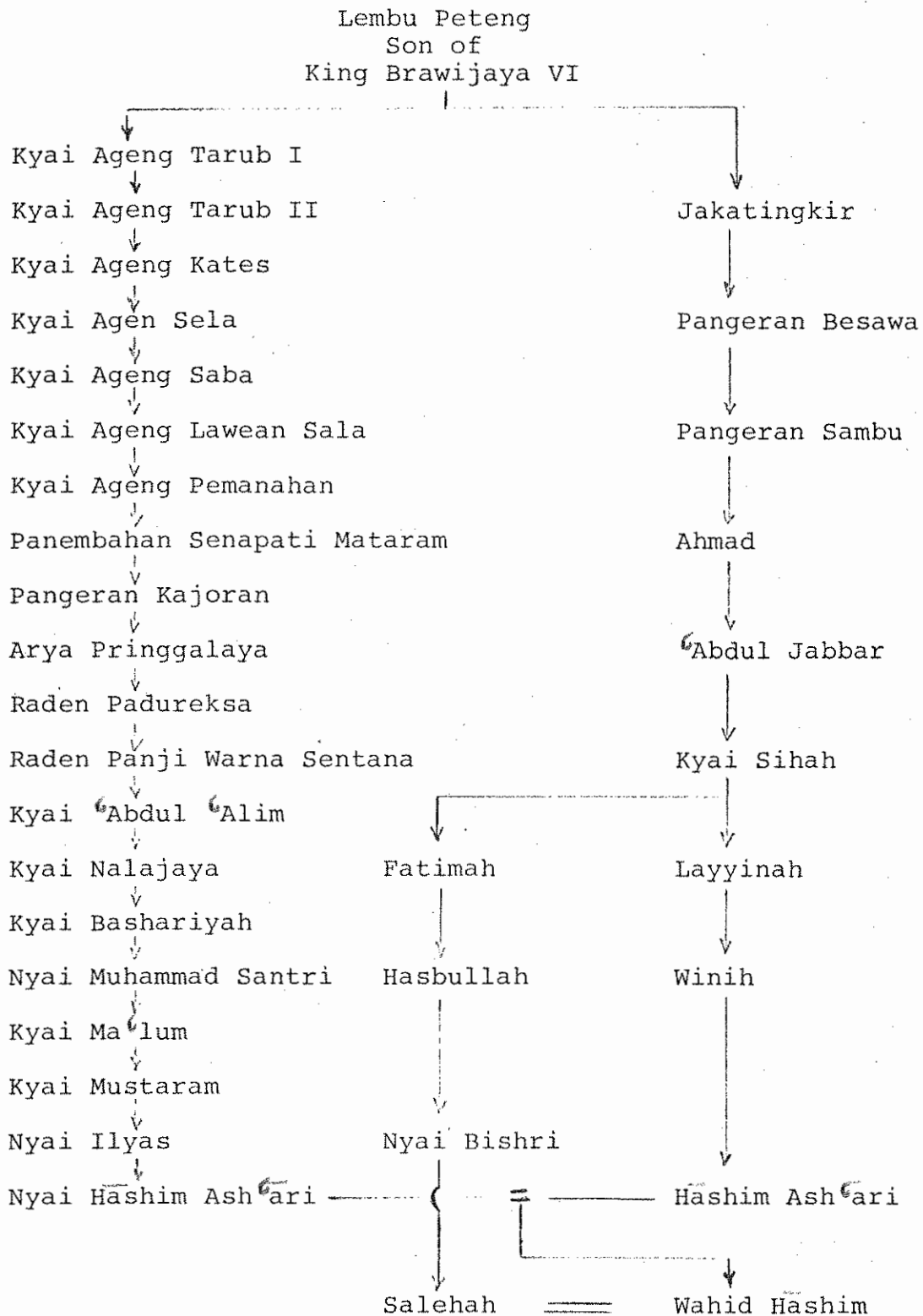



Diagram III[b]

The Translation of Diagram III[a]

into existence a new generation. It then produces ties of kinship within the community, which gradually develop into a large society. This view reverses the real state of affairs, which is that the existence of a wider society is the precondition of the existence of the family. In the Kyai's mind, however, if they intend to establish an Islamic community, they must start to Islamize their own family. The more families become Islamized, the greater the chance to create an Islamic community.

Kyai regard the family as the institution through which a generation prepares the succeeding generation for the continuation of Islamic civilization and for the sincere and enthusiastic discharge of its social obligations. Kyai earnestly desire that those who will replace them in the future should be better than they themselves. In this respect, the family is regarded as the fountainhead of the development, prosperity and strength of santri culture. There is evidence to support this assumption. First of all, Kyai always train their own children to master the Islamic knowledge and send them to various pesantren. Many of them send the children to Mecca to further their advanced studies. Secondly, the Kyai consider the teaching of students to be their most appropriate daily activity. They are critical of the Kyai who are more attracted to government posts than to teaching students.

According to the Kyai, the correct form of relationship between man and woman is marriage, that is, the one in which full social responsibilities are undertaken and which results in the emergence of a family. Sex is only permissible within a regulated marriage. Hence, the Kyai consider every form of extra-matrimonial sexual relationship as both sinful and forbidden, and a crime in Santri law. They prescribe severe punishment for the offence as dosa besar (serious sin).[9] Activities which encourage such irresponsible actions or provide opportunities for them must be avoided. Bans on the free mixing of men and women, and a strict rule for both to wear appropriate clothing that must cover all the aurat (parts of the body which are not supposed to be seen by others) are all intended to guard against this. The Kyai consider marriage as a good and virtuous act, indeed, as an act of worship. On the marriage certificate is always written the hadith which maintains that "Marriage is my path, they who do not follow my path are not my followers". The Kyai do not simply look upon the celibacy of an adult person with

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9 According to the Kyai, there are five kinds of dosa besar which are called mo limo (the five "m's"), i.e. maling (theft), madon (playing with women in the sense of enjoyment of extra-marital sexual intercourse), madat (smoking opium), main (Gambling) and minum (drinking alcohol).

disfavour but call upon every young man to take, in turn, the social responsibilities of married life just as his parents did in their time. They regard perpetual celibacy not as a virtue at all but as an aberration and departure from the true nature of man and an act of revolt against the Divine scheme of things. Furthermore after debarring a few specified relatives, relatives who are isih muhrim,[10] they encourage marital relations with all other near and distant kin.

Within the family, they assign to the man a position of authority that he may maintain order and discipline as the head of the household. They expect wives to be obedient and to look after the comfort and well-being of their husbands and they expect their children to behave like their parents, especially in regard to the parents' order that the children follow an Islamic way of life. If a woman is asked to obey the husband, the husband is called upon to look after the welfare of the family and treat the wife with love, affection and tenderness. Written in the marriage certificate is a verse of the Qur'an (4 : 19), "... But consort with them in kindness, for if ye hate them it may happen that ye hate a thing wherein Allāh hath placed much good".

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[10] See further discussion on the relatives of isih muhrim on page 107 ff.

The Kyai expect the marital bond to be strong, but their aim is to keep the bond intact only so long as it is founded on love or at least on the possibility of a lasting companionship. When this possibility disappears, the married couple is urged to separate temporarily, and under certain conditions where married life has become a source of misery or nuisance, Kyai may ask the Islamic courts of justice for authority to annul the marriage. The couple, however, must recognize that Islam considers divorce as a hateful thing in the sight of God.[11]

Although the Kyai believe that men are given the right to be heads of families, they always expect husbands and wives to work together and to have equal rights in managing the daily affairs of the family. They often quote a verse of the Qur'an (2 : 187), "Your wife is your clothes and you are hers". Men and women are created by the same Divine breath, as it is written in the Qur'an (4 : 1), "O mankind! Be careful of your duty to your Lord Who created you from a single soul and from it created its mate and from them twain hath spread abroad a multitude of men and women".

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[11] This is based on the hadith : "Abghad al-halāl al-Talāq" (With Allāh, the most detestable of all things permitted is divorce) (see Maulana Muhammad Ali, n.d. : 28).

In some respects, they give women precedence over men in dignity by quoting the popular hadith : "Paradise is under the feet of mothers". Since "... good women are the obedient (to their husbands), guarding in secret that which Allāh hath guarded" (Qur'an 4 : 34), it is necessary that a Muslim woman marry a Muslim man. And although a Muslim man is not required to marry a Muslim woman, he is, however, strongly urged to marry a Muslim woman.

Beyond the limited circle of the nuclear family, the next social sphere is established by kinship. Those who are one's kin by a relationship through common parents or common brothers and sisters or relations through in-laws are expected to be mutually affectionate, cooperative and helpful. Kyai always quote some verses of the Qur'an that state that good treatment of "dhawil qurba" (near relatives) is enjoined. They follow the traditions of the Prophet that good treatment of one's relatives should be emphasized and counted among the highest virtues. A person who cold-shoulders his relatives or treats them in an indifferent manner is looked down upon with disfavour.

It is, however, difficult to say whether the Javanese Kyai have a concept of the kindred as a unit. Although, they may share the vague Javanese

concept of kulawarga or sanak-sedulur or just sedulur which simply mean "relatives", the Kyai's relatives form a tightly knit group. Firmly entrenched with a distinctive Kyai culture and sufficient landholdings, they maintain close relationships with a wide number of kinsmen. Most Kyai are related through kinship and marriage, and they firmly maintain a tradition of keeping a record of their genealogies going back several generations, and by means of strategically placed endogamous marriages, they constantly reinforce their already strong kin organization. The Diagram IV shows the genealogy of Kyai Mahfuz Siddīq (died in 1944) of Jember, taken from the biography of Kyai Muhammad Siddīq of Jember (Tarīkh Hāyah..., n.d.).

More important than the concept of kulawarga is the Islamic concept of kinship which divides all relatives into isih muhrim and dudu muhrim. Members of the category isih muhrim are those whose touch does not invalidate the state of ritual purity necessary for prayer, while the touch of members of dudu muhrim does.[12] The members of isih muhrim are : one's own parents and parents' siblings and senior generations, one's siblings and their descendants, and one's children

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[12] On ritual purity necessary for prayer, see page 182 ff.

Diagram IV

The Genealogy of Kyai Mahfuz Siddiq of Jember

From his grandmother

1. Raden Pangeran Alit
2. Raden Tumenggung Jayanegara
3. Pangeran Sambudigda
4. Kyai ʿAbdul Hakam Penghulu Lasem
5. Kyai Ahmad Saleh (Sedapati)
6. Kyai Ahmad
7. Demang Sahid Iman Kasaruman
8. Abdul Karim Penghulu Purwodadi
9. Nyai ʿAbdullah Jepara

From his grandfather

1. Pangeran Sayyid Abdurrahman Sambudiga
2. Kyai Yusuf
3. Kyai Burdaʿi
4. Kyai Asra
5. Kyai Muhammad Saleh
6. Kyai ʿAbdullah Lasem

(Nyai ʿAbdullah Jepara = Kyai ʿAbdullah Lasem)

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Kyai Haji Muhammad Siddiq
b. 1854-

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Kyai Mahfuz Siddiq
d. 1944

Source : Tārīkh Ḥayah al-Marḥūm ..., n.d. pp. 3-5.

and their descendants. These are nearest kin and correspond to some extent with the Javanese concept sedulur cedak (near kin) vis-a-vis sedulur adoh (distant kin). The difference is that isih muhrim does not include nak-sanak (first cousins), while sedulur cedak does. This difference, however, is very important because, the concept of isih muhrim also denotes relatives who are debarred from entering into matrimony with one another while the Javanese concept sedulur cedak does not. Moreover, the concept sedulur cedak is less definite; the boundaries are fluid in practice. A close relative may become, in effect, distant as a result of a quarrel, geographic distance or his moving into another class.

In contemporary Java, there has been a tendency among the Kyai to develop semi-formal kinship organizations called bani which include all members of sedulur cedak and sedulur adoh who are descended from the same apical ancestor. The functions of the bani are not only to maintain close relationships with a wide number of kinsmen, but also to strengthen santri culture among members, and to encourage endogamous marriage among dudu muhrim members.[13]

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[13] The tendency to form a bani, however, is not exclusive to the Kyai. Similar descent groups called trah are now mushrooming in Java. Due to the length of time available for research, I did not do any study of these trah.

In a speech given by a leading figure of Bani ʿAbduljabbar at its general meeting on 20 May 1978 in Surabaya, the following statement was made :

> It is our intention to set up a Lajnah Munākahah (Council for Marriage) which will be able to stabilize quarrels of our married couples and to encourage arranged marriage among our members. Our regular meetings are also intended to remind us from time to time that our members should always behave according to the way of life of our Mbah (Grandfather) ʿAbduljabbar, a well-known Kyai who was always faithful to God. It is a shame that a member of Bani ʿAbduljabbar should not be able to read the Qur'an or perform his daily obligatory prayers. We remind you, do not deviate from the teachings of Mbah ʿAbduljabbar.

The members of a bani are expected to regard the pesantren founded by their apical ancestor as their common property and, on certain occasions, to visit his tomb; they are also expected to visit its oldest member as an expression of their affiliation to the bani.

From the point of view of the individual, there is a pool of relatives which can be drawn on for assistance at various stages in one's life, the degree of distance being the measure of the strength of one's claim. Every member of a bani knows that he is genealogically closer to some members than he is to others, and he knows that this affects his social relations with them. He knows full well that closer kin feel more strongly obliged to assist with their resources, especially those who share the same parents or grandparents.

Like all other Javanese kindred, members are expected to help with such festivities as weddings, circumcisions, and births by contributing substantially in food, money and labour. The Kyai's kin groups, which are comparatively more cohesive than those of the average Javanese, can marshal a large quantity of goods and facilities among themselves for these occasions, a fact which adds further to their actual wealth and prestige. Distant kin are expected to attend such affairs, but they do not have to contribute more than a friend or neighbour would. In every day activities, members of the isih muhrim cooperate closely and commonly render economic assistance to one another, but they do not act together as a group. The nak-sanak relationship is still considered important as the basis for mutual aid and assistance. Beyond the range of isih muhrim and nak-sanak, ties become less important as the basis for mutual aid and assistance. The members of bani, however, encourage endogamous marriage between _misanan_ (second cousins) and _mindoan_ (third cousins). This preference is expressed in many ways, both in Javanese and Arabic. The parents who are proposing to marry their son or daughter to a girl or boy who is misanan or mindoan will usually approach the girl or boy's parents by saying : "_Yu_ (my older sister) or _mas_ (my older brother), I want to marry my child to yours.

My own marriage has separated me from our family. I want you to take my child as your mantu (your child-in-law) so that my children and grandchildren will not lose their ties with our family". This is what the Javanese called "ngumpulake balung pisah" which literally means "to collect or unite the separated bones". In this context, reference is to the way that distant kin are recruited as close kin through marriage.

For a boy who is looking for a spouse, the Kyai suggest that the boy follow the teaching of the Prophet Muhammad as written in the Bulūghul Marām (Ibnu Hajar al-Ashqolani, 1963 : 149) : "Tunkah al-mar'ah li'arbaʿin, lidīnihā, linasabihā, lijamalihā, wa limālihā" : "Marry a woman for the intensity of her religious devotion, her kin reputation, her beauty, and her wealth.

Marriage between misanan or mindoan is common among Kyai families. Marriage between nak-sanak is not uncommon, since in general Kyai try to avoid such marriages. Hadratus-Shaikh's wife, Nafiqah, for example, suckled many of her grandchildren to prevent them from entering into matrimony with one another because in Islam, children, not necessary of the same parents, who suckle from the same breasts become members of isih muhrim. The Kyai's attitude toward marriage

between nak-sanak is ambiguous. On the one hand, Islam allows such marriages, so they have to be accepted as correct, but on the other hand, the feeling is that the nak-sanak relationship is so close that it is very hard to change it into an in-law relationship. My impression, however, is that if there is a request from a nak-sanak to marry his or her relative, more distant relatives, either misanan or mindoan, will not put forward a request until this nak-sanak drops his/her request.

Beyond the range of mindoan (that means beyond fourth generation), the status of being members of keluarga Kyai fades gradually. The next generation is easily absorbed into the general Javanese society of non-kin. Certain descent lines remain exclusive through endogamous marriage because one or two of their members succeed in becoming Kyai and establish their own pesantren. Others, although they are absorbed into the general society, maintain their santri culture and regard their Kyai descent as a focal point of reference. I would suggest that the expansion of kinship ties among the Javanese Kyai is one of the main contributors to the development and the expansion of santri culture and community in Java.

THE IMPORTANCE OF INTELLECTUAL GENEALOGY WITHIN THE PESANTREN TRADITION

Professor Johns remarks that the only secure basis for a study of the intellectual history of Islam in Indonesia is to be gained from a patient seeking out of the educational institutions and an attempt to trace their evolution and the writings that can be associated with them.

> In giving this primacy to such educational institutions it must be stressed that there is no room for the maverick in traditional Islam : a religious teacher has no status in his own right. He represents the impress made upon him by the school in which he belonged. His authenticity, and the guarantee of his competence as a member of that school is provided by the line of transmission he can produce, depending on the authority of his teacher, that of the teacher of his teacher, and so on. The Arabic biographical dictionaries in fact provide us with complex clusters of lines of transmission - vertically and horizontally with the associations of each individual in the line with his colleagues, and occasionally their teachers (Johns, in press).

Within the Islamic and pesantren tradition, this line of transmission is called sanad (which literally means chains). Every field of study maintains its standard sanad. Kyai Munawwir, the founder of Pesantren Krapyak in Yogyakarta, for example, was well-known for his competence in standard tajwīd. In his biography (ʿAliy As'ad 1975 : 6), he produced the following line of transmission : He studied qiro'ah Imam ʿAshim (the version of tajwīd according to Imam ʿAshim) from Shaikh ʿAbd al-Karīm bin ʿUmar al-Badri al-Dimyāti whose previous sanad is shown in Table IV.

Table IV

The Sanad of Qiro'ah Imam 'Ashim on which Kyai Munawwir bases his authority as a Master on Standard Tajwid

1. Muhammad, the Prophet
2. The four Companions : 'Ali bin Abi Tālib, Zaid bin Thabit, 'Uthmān bin 'Affan, and 'Ubiy bin Ka'ab
3. 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Salma who studied the qiro'ah from the four Companions of the Prophet
4. al-Imam 'Ashim
5. al-Imam Hafsah
6. 'Ubaid Ibnu al-Sabbāgh
7. Shaikh Abil 'Abbas al-Ashnāni
8. Abil Hasan Tāhir
9. al-Hāfiz Abi 'Amr al-Dāni
10. Ibnu Dawud Sulaiman bin Naijah
11. al-Imam Abil Hasan bin Huzail
12. al-Imam Abu Qāsim al-Shātibi
13. al-Imam Abi Hasan bin al-Shujā' bin Sālim bin 'Ali bin Musa al- Abbāsi al-Misri
14. al-Imam Abi 'Abdillah Muhammad bin Khāliq al Misri al-Shāfi'i
15. Shaikh Muhammad Ibnu al-Jazari
16. Shaikh Ahmad al-Sayuti
17. Shaikh Zakaria al-Ansari
18. Shaikh Namiruddin al-Tablawi
19. Shaikh Tahazah al-Zamani
20. Shaikh Saifuddin bin 'Atā'illah al-Fadali
21. Shaikh Sultan al-Muzahi
22. Shaikh 'Ali bin Sulaiman al-Mansuri
23. Shaikh Hijazi
24. Shaikh Mustafā al-Azmiri
25. Shaikh Ahmad al-Rashidi
26. Shaikh Isma'il
27. Shaikh 'Abd al-Karim bin 'Umar al-Badri al-Dimyati
28. Kyai Munawwir

Source : Aliy As'ad 1975 : 6

Each individual in the sanad is called isnād, which means "ascription of a prophetical tradition or chain of transmitters authenticating a tradition". Within the tradition of tarekat orders, the sanad is more frequently called silsila (mystical isnād). This means that each tarekat is handed down through a continuous silsila; the derivative shaikhs are, therefore, the spiritual heirs of the founders. The link of a person with this silsila acquires an esoteric character, whereby the seeker swears an oath of allegiance to the founder and earthly deputy and receives in return the formula of dhikir. The formula concentrates the spiritual power of the chain, as a means of gaining this link. Table V shows the silsilah of the Qādiriyyah wa'l Naqshābandiyyah on which Kyai Mustaᶜin Romly of Jombang bases his authority as Shaikh of the tarekat.

The tradition of producing a sanad or silsila within the pesantren must not be regarded, however, solely as the Kyai's way of securing his authenticity and guaranteeing his competence as a member of the school to which he belongs. Certain values are associated with the preservation of the sanad. Before considering the intellectual history of Java's leading Kyai it is important to discuss the values which govern relations between students and teacher within the pesantren tradition.

Table V

The Qādiriyyah wan-Naqshabandiyyah silsilah on which Kyai Musta'in Ramly bases his authority as Shaikh of his tarekat

1. Muhammad, the Prophet
2. 'Āli bin Abi Tālib
3. Al-Husain ibnu Fātimah al-Zahra'
4. Imam Zain al-Ābidīn
5. Shaikh Muhammad al-Bāqir
6. Shaikh Ja'far al-Sādiq
7. Shaikh Mūsā al-Kāzim
8. Shaikh Abi al-Hasan 'Āli bin Mūsā al-Rādi
9. Shaikh Ma'ruf al-Kurkhi
10. Shaikh Sarī al-saqati
11. Shaikh abi al-Qasim al-Junaid al-Baghdadi
12. Shaikh Abi Bakr al-Shibli
13. Shaikh 'Abdul Wahid al-Tamimi
14. Shaikh Abil Faraji al-Tartusi
15. Shaikh Abil Hasan 'Āli al-Hakari
16. Shaikh Abi Sa'id al-Mubarak al-Mahzum
17. Shaikh 'Abdul Qādir Jailani
18. Shaikh 'Abdul 'Azīz
19. Shaikh Muhammad al-Hattaki
20. Shaikh Shamsuddīn
21. Shaikh Sharafuddīn
22. Shaikh Zainuddīn
23. Shaikh Nuruddīn
24. Shaikh Waliyuddīn
25. Shaikh Husamuddīn
26. Shaikh Yahyā
27. Shaikh Abi Bakr
28. Shaikh 'Abd al-Rahim
29. Shaikh 'Uthmān
30. Shaikh Kamaluddīn
31. Shaikh 'Abdul Fattah
32. Shaikh Murad
33. Shaikh Shamsuddīn
34. Shaikh Ahmad Khatib Sambas Ibnu 'Abdulghafar
35. Shaikh 'Abdul Karim
36. Shaikh Ahmad Hasbullāh bin Muhammad Madura
37. Shaikh Muhammad Khalil
38. Shaikh Muhammad Ramly Tamim
39. Shaikh 'Uthman al-Ishaq
40. Muhammad Musta'in Ramly

Source : Thamratul Fikriyyah, n.d. p. 25

ISLAMIC IDEALS ON THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN STUDENTS AND TEACHERS

Within the pesantren tradition, students' respect for their teachers is absolute and everlasting and must be expressed in all the aspects of life of the students - their religious, social, and personal life. It is contrary to religious values for a student to forget his tie to his teacher. Otherwise, the student will lose the barakah of his teacher. The loss of the Kyai's barakah may cause the student's knowledge to become ineffective (tidak bermanfaat). He will, for example, be unable to attract many students or he will be less successful than his fellows who never lose contact with their teachers. It is forbidden for a santri to say that he is a "former" student of a certain Kyai. Once he becomes a student of this Kyai, he is the Kyai's student all his life. Even if his teacher has died, a student must show his respect for this teacher by not losing contact with the pesantren where he studied.[15] Kyai Tahrīr of Susukan Salatiga who is now

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[15] Yusuf Hashim, the present Director of the Pesantren Tebuireng, is not, in fact, an Islamic Scholar. Although he is a capable politician and qualified administrator, he cannot teach students and never leads the religious performances in the pesantren. The four Kyai now responsible for teaching students were the students of Hadratus-Shaikh. I was impressed by Kyai Adlan 'Ali's, the oldest, most learned and influential of these four Kyai, respect for Yusuf Hashim, not because of the latter's ability as a politician and administrator, but because Yusuf is the son of Hadratus-Shaikh. Kyai Adlan's respect for Yusuf is, in fact, an expression of Kyai Adlan's respect for Hadratus-Shaikh.

seventy two years old, goes to the monthly pengajian in the Pesantren Watucongol in Muntilan, Magelang, given by Kyai Hamid, the son of Kyai Dalhar under whom Kyai Tahrir studied fiqh and tafsir as a student in Watucongol between 1927 and 1932. It is written in the Ta῾līm al-Muta῾allim[16] :

> Those who seek knowledge must remember that they will never gain knowledge or their knowledge will be useless unless they pay high respect to the knowledge of their teachers and to the teachers themselves. Respect for the teacher means more than just obedience ... As ῾Ali, the son-in-law of the Prophet, said: "I am the slave of the person who teaches me even only one word" (Zarnuji 1963: 60).

The student must show his complete respect and obedience to his teacher, not because of an absolute surrender to his teacher who is regarded as having authority but because of the student's belief in his teachers' sanctity; the teacher is a channel of God's grace for his student in the world and in the Hereafter. According to Islamic teaching, a student's teacher must be regarded as his own father for as a hadith maintains:

> Your fathers are three: the first is the man who begets you, the second is the man who gives you a wife, and the third is your teacher who teaches you (see Dhofier and Wahid 1978: 31).

Another hadith teaches,

> And indeed, the man who teaches you only a word of religious knowledge is your father in Islam (Zarnuji 1963: 63).

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16 Ta῾līm al-Muta῾allim (Guidance for Students) is a classical text taught in every pesantren. It teaches ethics and morals to students who seek knowledge.

A student must always try to please his teacher; he must not walk in front of his teacher, nor take a seat on his chair, nor open the conversation before the teacher asks him to do so; nor talk much to the teacher, nor ask questions if his teacher is not in the mood to answer questions (Zarnuji 1963 : 64-65).

So important is the position of the teacher for the student that a student must consider carefully before choosing his teacher. It is recommended that a student think for at least two months before choosing the best teacher, i.e. one who has the deepest knowledge (ʿālim), a man who always refrains from doing anything prohibited by Islam (wiraʿi), and who is mature enough to be a teacher (asannā). It is also suggested that a student discuss his choice with experienced graduates (Zarnuji 1963 : 45-47) and not leave his teacher before he finishes a certain subject of study, otherwise he will never take advantage of his search for knowledge (falā yubāraku fi al-taʿalum), (Zarnuji 1963 : 50-52).

The student's absolute obedience to his teacher does not mean, however, that the student must follow orders from his teacher which are contrary to the teachings of Islam. It is written in the Taʿlīm al-Muta ʿallim (Zarnuji 1963 : 65), "Do not be obedient to a man

who conducts himself in a manner prohibited by Allāh". The following case illustrates how serious Kyai are in holding this ideology :

On 2 July 1978 there was a pengajian[17] in Timpik, about twenty kilometres southeast of Salatiga. About five hundred villagers participated in the pengajian. After the reading of the Qur'an was given, the organizer[18] asked the lurah (village head) to give his speech. An excerpt from his speech is as follows :

> "Bapak-Bapak (Gentlemen, lit., Fathers) and Ibu-Ibu (Ladies, lit., Mothers), all those who are present here, I would like you to realize that in order that our society be well-managed and secure, its people must be obedient to its leaders. If a leader asks you to go to the pengajian, you must go. If you are asked to practise family planning you must do it. If you are asked to go to my office to have your photos taken for the renewal of your identity cards, you must faithfully go to my office. I have just received an instruction from Bapak Bupati (Head District) that all of you must renew your identity cards on which your latest photo must be attached. Please go to my office as soon as possible. You must remember that, according to the Bupati's instruction, those who are found not to possess an identity card next month, will be fined Rp. 10,000".

Then came Kyai Ma'mun's turn to give the most important religious speech. After a short introduction he discussed aspects of "obedience to leaders" according

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[17] Traditionally, pengajian refers to an informal school of Qur'anic chanting for children. In contemporary Java, the term pengajian is also used to refer to an informal prayer-meeting for adults (see Chapter V).

[18] The Chairman of the Executive Committee of the pengajian in Timpik was Kyai Mustaqim who settled in this village in 1941. Since that year he has sought to strengthen the Islamic faith of the nominal Muslims in the area.

to the Islamic teaching :

> "It is true, as Bapak Lurah has said, that followers must be obedient to their leaders. But you must remember that if your leaders do something wrong you must correct them. The correction of course must be done in such a way that does not make the leaders become angry. The correction must be given politely so that the leaders will accept the correction happily".[19]

Within the pesantren tradition, it is believed that once a teacher has committed a perbuatan ma'siat (conduct prohibited by Allāh), this teacher can no longer be regarded as the channel of God's sanctity and grace. According to Islamic teachings, a students' duty of absolute obedience to the teacher must, then, be understood in the context of a teacher's devotion to God, his sincerity, patience, humility, truthfulness and love in teaching his student. A student's trust in his teacher is based on the belief that his teacher is a chosen ʿulamā' who holds the key to Islamic knowledge. Similarly, the teacher devotes his time and energy to teaching his student because the teacher bears a responsibility from Allāh to pass on the key to the knowledge of Allāh. It is only by understanding, mutual devotion, patience, truthfulness, humility, sincerity and love between a teacher and his student that we can understand the survival and prosperity of the pesantren tradition.

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19 The above data speak well for the contrast between Islamic ideal and Javanese virtue on the nature of teacher-student relationships. See further discussion in Chapter V.

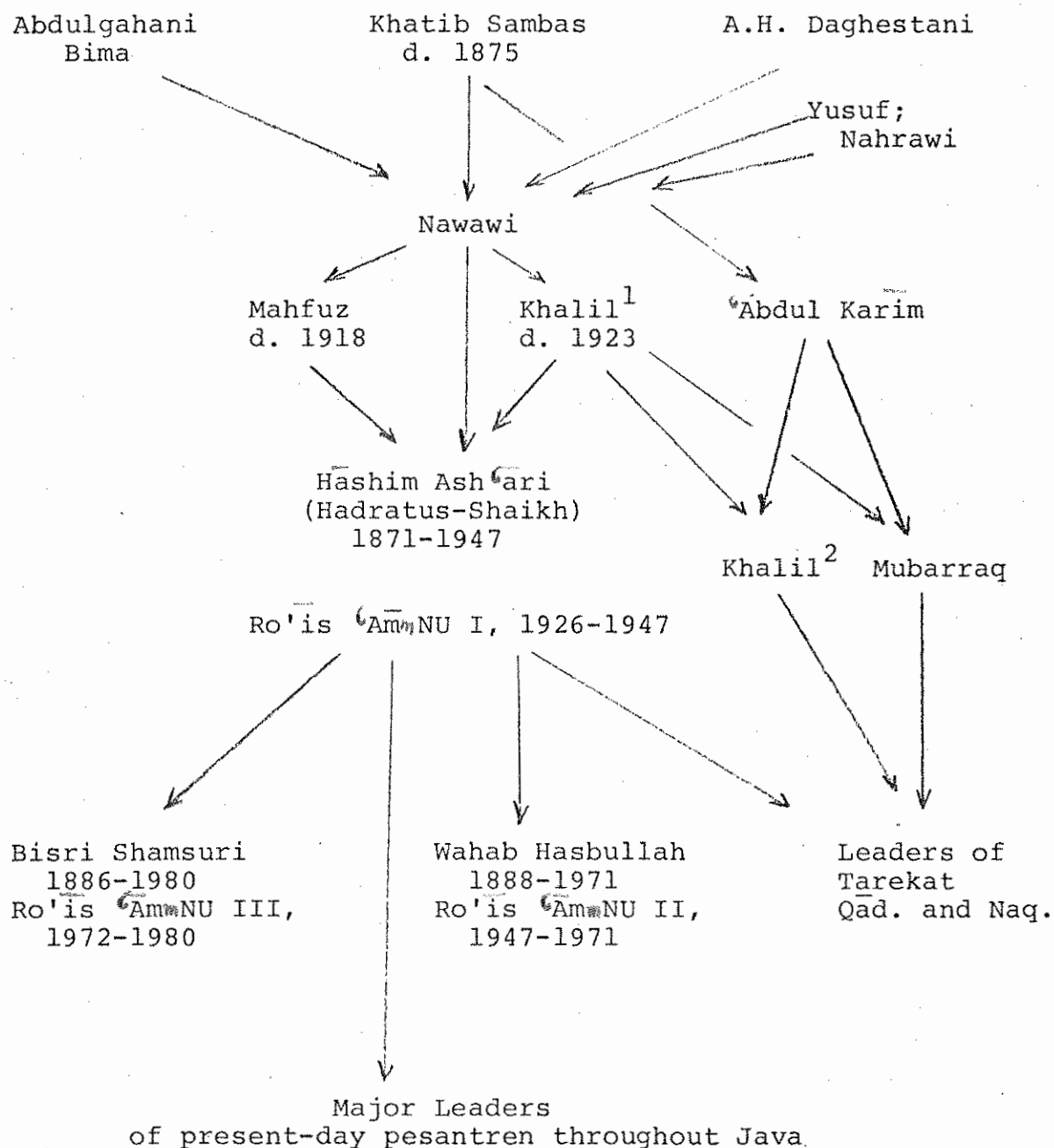
SHORT INTELLECTUAL HISTORY OF JAVA'S LEADING KYAI

Johns notes that as early as the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries Islamic teachers in Indonesia had a continuous correspondence with religious teachers in Saudi Arabia. They invited religious teachers from South Asia and the Islamic heartlands who brought books for explication and commentary. Many Islamic teachers from Aceh and other areas make the pilgrimage to Mecca to study in the intellectual centres of Islam in the Hijaz and the Yemen (Johns, in press). However, it was only in the nineteenth century that Indonesia produced its own Islamic scholars of international calibre, who were successful in establishing themselves in Mecca. It is from these scholars that the present-day Javanese Kyai trace back their intellectual and spiritual genealogies. In the following pages, I propose to discuss the importance of six of the most outstanding of these scholars and indicate their contributions in the maintenance of the traditional ideology of Islam in Java. As background to this discussion, Diagram V provides a schematic outline of an intellectual genealogy of Java's Kyais.

1. SHAIKH AHMAD KHATIB SAMBAS

Shaikh Sambas was born in Kalimantan and settled in Mecca, in the second quarter of the nineteenth century and remained there until his death in 1875 (Hurgronje 1931: 262). He was renowned in Indonesia for his success in combining the teachings of

Diagram V

An Intellectual Genealogy of Java's Leading Kyai

Notes : 1) Kyai Khalil of Pesantren Bangkalan, Madura
2) Kyai Khalil of Pesantren Peterongan, Jombang

the two important tarekat orders in Indonesia, the Qādiriyyah and the Naqshabandiyyah. In Java his tarekat order is now called "Tarekat Qādiriyyah wa'l Naqshabandiyyah".This tarekat order became instrumental in spreading Islam to Indonesia and Malay from its centre in the Jawi Colony at Mecca beginning in the second half of the nineteenth century (Al-Attas 1963: passim, and Kartodirdjo 1966: 164). Shaikh Sambas wrote Fath al-ʿĀrifīn (Victory of the Gnostics) which became the most popular and important literature on Sūfī practices in the Malay World (Al-Attas 1963: 59). Fath al-ʿĀrifīn is a treatise that outlines the teachings on the performance of dhikir for the followers of the tarekat.

Although Shaikh Sambas is particularly recognized as a tarekat leader in Indonesia and Malay, he was, in fact, a learned scholar in every branch of Islamic knowledge (Hurgronje 1931: 262). Mecca at this time was acentre of Islamic revival and produced many learned leaders of tarekat orders.[20]

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[20] Evans-Pritchard mentions the Grand Sanusi, the founder of the Sanusi Order in North Africa, who studied in Mecca for some twenty years and left the city in 1853. Grand Sanusi was a very learned man and a writer of distinction and also a bibliophile with a fine library of some 8,000 volumes, mostly works on Islamic law and jurisprudence, mysticism, philosophy, history, Qur'anic exegesis, poetry, and astronomy and astrology. Kyai Falak, the founder of the Pesantren Pagentongan and the Tarekat Qadiriyyah wa'l Naqshabandiyyah, both in Bogor, established himself as a scholar of astronomy in Mecca.

The fact that Shaikh al-Nawawi al-Jawi al-Bantani al-Tanari studied under Shaikh Sambas (Hurgronje 1931 : 268, and Abubakar 1957 : 88) indicates that Shaikh Sambas - in addition to training the most influential Sufi ʿUlamā', Shaikh ʿAbdul Karīm[21] - also trained a leading ʿulamā' on fiqh and tafsir. The importance of Shaikh Sambas as a learned scholar must be stressed here because, as Hurgronje has pointed out, most European writers are radically mistaken in asserting that the corporation ulama of the learned were in general hostile to tarekat orders (Hurgronje 1931 : 206).[22] The gigantic success of the tarekat orders in strengthening the Islamic faith among the Muslim community in Indonesia has always excited the gratitude and admiration of the learned Kyai. It is significant that a highly regarded scholar like Shaikh Sambas, from whom almost all Kyai in Java trace their intellectual genealogy, was also a representative of a mystic order.

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[21] Many scholars, it is true, do not think that the tarekat orders of today approach the ideals of their founders. But they know from experience as well as from the words of wisdom of the Prophet, that until its end this world can not be perfect, and therefore they do not reproach individual shaiks with the fact that reality does not correspond to the ideal.

[22] See page 130 in this chapter.

2. SHAIKH AL-NAWAWI AL-JAWI AL-BANTANI AL-TANARI

Shaikh Nawawi was born in 1230 Hijriyyah[23] (1815 A.D.) in the village of Tanara in Banten, West Java (Chaidar 1978 : 35). His father, 'Umar ibnu'Arabi was district-penghulu (head of the mosque) in Tanara and himself taught his sons, Nawawi, Tamim and Ahmd, the elements of Islamic knowledge. The brothers got further instruction from Kyai Sahal, then a famous teacher in Banten. The three brothers continued their studies in Purwakarta in Krawang, where Kyai Yusuf attracted travelling students from the whole of Java, particularly from West Java. They made the pilgrimage whilst quite young. Nawawi was about 15 years old when he went to Mecca and he remained there for about three years. He returned to Indonesia but soon went back to Mecca to settle permanently (Hurgronje 1931 : 286).

In Mecca, between 1830 and 1860, Shaikh Nawawi studied under various renowned shaikh; among them were Khatib Sambas, Abdulghani Bima, Yusuf Sumbulaweni, Nahrawi, and Abdul Hamid Daghestani. Between 1860 and 1870 he taught students at every

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23 The Muslim Calender which started its first year when the Prophet made the hijrah (migration) to Medina in 622 A.D.

available hour in the Mecca mosque, but after 1870 he concentrated his activity in the literary sphere. Nawawi was a prolific writer; his writings range from very brief treatises to a substantial two volume commentary on the Qur'an published in Egypt in 1887. Sarkis mentions about 38 important works by Nawawi (Sarkis 1928 : 1879-1884). Important examples of Nawawi's works published in Cairo include : in the grammatical field, a Commentary on al-Jurumiyyah (1881) and a treatise on style ("Lubāb al-bayān") 1884; in the field of doctrine Dhariyat al-yaqin, the title of a commentary on the well-known work of Sanusi, 1886, a commentary entitled Fath al-Mujīb on Ad-durr al-farid, written by Nawawi's teacher al-Nahrawi (printed in 1881) and three books in which - apart from principles of dogma - the five religious divisions of the Law (i.e. the "Five Pillars of Islam") are treated. To this must be added some devotional works which are read out at solemn assemblies : two commentaries on the poetic Maulid (Biographies of the Prophet) by Barzanji; a commentary upon a work by the same author upon the legendary Journey to Heavan (Isra' Mi'raj), and a commentary upon a poem that cites the "most beautiful" names of Allah, the Prophets and the Saints. Nawawi also wrote two great commentaries dealing with the whole body of Law; in a commentary

on the Manasik of Sharbini (printed 1880) he dealt with rules for the pilgrimage; and in two small commentaries on works of Hadrami divines (Suluk al-Jiddah, 1883, and Sullam al-Munājah 1884) he dealt with various questions of ritual (see Hurgronje 1931 : 271).

The overwhelming majority of Nawawi's works are, thus, explanations and annotations on the works of other authors.

The Kyai in Java pay respect to Nawawi for his skill in clarifying the meaning of obscure Arabic words and explaining the subtleties and difficulties of the religious poems on which he wrote commentaries.

Shaikh Nawawi's ability was recognized in Cairo. The title page of his Tafsīr Murakh Labīb styles him as Sayyid ʿulamā' al-Hijaz, a title bestowed because of his writings, his skill and learning as shown in his discussions with the Shaikhs of al-Azhār (Johns, in press).

Besides having a wide circulation in the Arab world, particularly in those regions that follow the Shafi'ite school of Law (Johns, in press), the following books by Shaikh Nawawi are widely used in pesantren throughout Indonesia :

1. Sharah al-Jurūmiyyah
2. Fathul Mujīb
3. Sharah al-Barzanji
4. Sharah Sulūkul Jiddah
5. Lubābul Bayān
6. Tafsīr Murakh Labīb (see Abubakar 1957 : 88).

It is important to point out that although Shaikh Nawawi did not follow his master, Shaikh Ahmad Khatib Sambas in leading a tarekat order, he did not abandon his intellectual and spiritual commitment to the master. In other words, he was not against tarekat practices so long as they did not deviate from the teachings of Islamic orthodoxy. This may explain why his name is still fragant among the Kyai in Java (see Chaidar 1975).

3. SHAIKH ʿABDUL KARIM

Shaikh 'Abdul Karim was one of the three influential Kyai whose ardent propaganda ignited the Cilegon rebellion in 1888 of which Kartodirdjo (1966) gives a most interesting account. Shaikh ʿAbdul Karim was the disciple and successor of Shaikh Ahmad Khatib Sambas. The early development of the tarekat movement in Banten was closely related to the career of Shaikh 'Abdul Karim who was both a religious teacher and a tarekat leader of the Qādiriyyah wa'l Naqshabandiyyah Order. In 1872 after holding a position as a teacher of the tarekat in Singapore for a few years, he established a religious school in his home village Lampuyang, Banten. As a teacher, he commanded great respect and loyalty from his disciples and became the most venerated man in Banten. His religious and tarekat teaching exerted a strong influence over the population. He declared that there was a need for intensive purification of

religious belief and practice. In this connection, the dhikir became the focus of revitalized spiritual life. Thus Shaikh ʿAbdul Karim came to be regarded by his disciples as a Wali Allah (Allah protege; saint) who had been granted God's barakah. Later on, he became better known as Kyai Agung, the Great Kyai. In Banten he urged jihād (holy war) against Dutch authorities and advocated the foundation of an Islamic State. In 1876 he left Banten for Mecca to succeed Shaikh Ahmad Khatib Sambas.

Five major tarekat that currently command many thousands of followers in Java traced their silsilah back to Shaikh ʿAbdul Karim. These five tarekat are all branches of Tarekat Qādiriyyah wa'l Naqshabandiyyah:

1. Pagentongan in Bogor (Prasodjo eds., 1974)
2. Surialaya in Tasikmalaya (Soebardi 1979)
3. Mranggen in Semarang, led by Kyai Hamid
4. Rejoso in Jombang (Nurcholis Madjid 1977)
5. Tebuireng in Jombang (see Chapter VI of this thesis).

4. SHAIKH MAHFUZ AL-TARMISY

Shaikh Mahfuz was a contemporary of Shaikh Nawawi. He was born in Tremas, East Java. His father, Kyai ʿAbdullah, sent him and his brother, Kyai Dimyati, to further their studies in Mecca. Kyai mahfuz seems to

have been more successful than Kyai Dimyāti. Eventually he established himself as one of the most remarkable Jawi scholars in the Middle East. He became famous as the ʿulamā' from Tremas and one of the most revered teachers of the Malay Indonesian community in Mecca until the time of his death in 1918. He wrote five voluminous books of which one, Muhibbah dhil-Fadal (The Gift from the Superior) consisting of four volumes, has been published. His other four works were preserved by his student, Kyai Khalil, who later became the leader of Pesantren Lasem in Rembang.

Among Javanese Kyai, Shaikh Mahfuẓ was well-known as a specialist on the work of al-Bukhārī. Al-Bukhari is a standard collection of hadith written by Shaikh Bukhari (b. 810; d. 870). Shaikh Mahfuẓ was acknowledged as a legitimate link in the transmission of the teaching of al-Bukhārī. He gave ijaza (certificates) to those of his students who mastered the hadith. This certificate originated with Bukhari himself over one thousand years before and was handed down through twenty-three generations of ʿulamā' who mastered the work of Bukhari, Shaikh Mahfuẓ being the last in the line at that time (Nakamura 1976 : 136).

Hadratus-Shaikh Hāshim Ash'ari, the greatest Kyai in Java in the first half of the twentieth century was also well-known as an <u>'ulamā' ahli hadīth</u> (an expert 'ulamā' on the hadith) and he derived his expertise from Shaikh Mahfuz. Hadratus-Shaikh's respect for Shaikh Mahfuz, the master, was such that he always recommended his most gifted students to receive their ijaza on al-Bukhāri directly from Shaikh Mahfuz.[24] Because of his success, Shaikh Mahfuz decided not to go back to Pesantren Tremas to succeed his father when he died at the end of the nineteenth century. Instead Shaikh Mahfuz asked his brother, Kyai Dimyāti, to lead the pesantren.

The four Indonesian 'ulamā' I have discussed all settled and established themselves as great scholars in Mecca in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Javanese Kyai of later generations trace their intellectual and spiritual genealogies back to these men who played a decisive role, not only in the development and acceleration of Islamic orthodoxy on Java in the twentieth century, but also in the maintenance of the traditional ideology of

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[24] The case of Kyai Amir of Kotagede (Nakamura 1976 : 135-146) is an example of one of Hadratus-Shaikh's students who continued his studies on al-Bukhari under the instruction of Shaikh Mahfuz in Mecca.

Islam and the creation of a more organized solidarity among the Kyai in Java. This organized solidarity among the Kyai of Java was realized through two influential pesantren leaders, Kyai Khalil Bangkalan in Madura and Hadratus-Shaikh Hāshim Ashʿari, the founder of Pesantren Tebuireng.

5. KYAI KHALIL BANGKALAN

Kyai Khalil was a contemporary of Shaikh Nawawi, ʿAbdul Karim and Mahfuz and studied in Mecca in the 1960's.[25] He was well-known as a Wali Allah (see Risalah Nahdiyyah, n.d. p. 59), but did not lead a tarekat order. He was also well-known as a scholar on 'ilmu alat (Arabic Grammar), fiqh and tasawwuf. He seems therefore, to have combined characteristics of Shaikh ʿAbdul Karim and Mahfuz, though intellectually and spiritually he was less remarkable then 'Abdul Karim and Mahfuz. Kyai Khalil, however, was important because most great Kyai of Hadratus-Shaikh's generation were his students. Among them were : (1) Hadratus-Shaikh (Abubakar 1957 : 65), (2) Kyai Manaf ʿAbdul Karim of Lirboyo (Dz. Ghozi 1978: 76-80), (3) Kyai Muhammad Siddīq of Jember (Tārīkh Hāyah ..., n.d. p. 6), (4) Kyai Munawwir Krapayak (Aliy As'ad 1975 : 5), (5) Kyai Maʿsum of Lasem (Chaidar 1973 : 58-59),

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[25] Unfortunately I did not gather sufficient information on the intellectual genealogy of this Kyai to provide full details of his life.

(6) Kyai ʿAbdullāh Mubarak of Surialaya (Soebardi 1979 : 219), and Kyai Wahab Hasbullāh of Jombang (Abubakar 1957 : 122).

It is important to note that before his death in 1923, Kyai Khalil frequently visited his student, Ḥaḍratus-Shaikh, in Tebuireng to attend Ḥaḍratus-Shaikh's lectures on al-Bukhari. His participation in the Hadratus-Shaikh's lectures was considered by most Kyai in Java as an indication that after Kyai Khalil's death, the ʿulamā' of Java were to follow the leadership of Ḥaḍratus-Shaikh.

6. HADRATUS SHAIKH MUHAMMAD HĀSHIM ASHʿARI

Kyai Haji Muhammad Hāshim Ashʿari, the founder of Pesantren Tebuireng was a remarkable man. Throughout Java, he was honoured as Hadratus-Shaikh, the "Grand Islamic Scholar". Hadratus-Shaikh was born of a distinguished Kyai family from a village near Jombang, East Java in 1871. Ashʿari, his father, was the founder of Pesantren Keras; Kyai ʿUthmān, his grandfather, was also a well-known Kyai and the founder and leader of a large pesantren, Pesantren Gedang, near Jombang in the nineteenth century; and finally Kyai Sihah, his great-grandfather, was the founder of Pesantren Tambakberas, a short distance to the west of the town of Jombang.

Already early in life, he became noted for his intelligence, piety, and profound learning, all qualities considered fitting attributes of his noble birth (H. Abubakar, 1957 : 62-66). He studied first under his own father, learning elementary theology, jurisprudence, exegesis of the Qur'an, hadith, and the other usual subjects of a Muslim student of the time. He was so brilliant that when he was only thirteen years old, he was able to help his father teach students who were much older than himself (ibid). He furthered his studies in various pesantren for two years, and later at the famous pesantren, Pesantren Siwalan, in Surabaya for five years. Kyai Ya'kub, the leader of this pesantren, took him as a son-in-law and financed his further studies in Mecca. After only a year's stay in Mecca, his wife died and so did his two-month-old child. He returned to Java with his father-in-law, but returned to Mecca again three months later. This second stay lasted seven years, and during this time he was accompanied by his brother-in-law, Kyai Alwi who later became his main assistant in developing the Pesantren Tebuireng. He continued his studies under learned Shaikh. The man who influenced him most, and whose favourite pupil he became, was Shaikh Mahfuz al-Tarmisy who wrote

Muhibbah dhil-Fadal (The Gift from the Superior), regarded as a standard Shafi'ite fiqh by all Javanese Kyai. Shaikh Mahfuz, the son of a Kyai of Tremas in Central Java, spent his later life in Mecca and was the recognized expert on the standard hadith texts written by Imam Bukhari. Hadratus-Shaikh later became known as the most authoritative expert of this standard hadith in Java.

It is important to note that Hadratus-Shaikh was in Mecca during the time of the reformer Muhammad ʿAbduh whose ideas mark a new chapter in the history of Islam in Indonesia. As noted by Deliar Noer, ʿAbduh's ideas for Islamic reform, which were launched from Egypt, attracted some Indonesian students in Mecca studying under Shaikh Ahmad Khatib, the Imam of the Shafi'ite madhhab at the Masjid al-Haram (Mecca mosque). Shaikh Ahmad Khatib came from Minangkabau (West Sumatra) and established himself as a renowned ʿulamā' and trained many ʿulamā' who later became leaders of various Islamic movements in Indonesia.[26] Although he became the Imam of the Shafi'ite madhhab, Shaikh Ahmad Khatib was opposed to all forms of tarekat practices

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[26] The most reknowned was Kyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan the founder of Muhammadiyah. On Shaikh Ahmad Khatib, see Deliar Noer (1973 : 31-33).

(Noer 1973 : 32). In this, Shaikh Ahmad Khatib differed from Shaikh Sambas, al-Nawawi, ʿAbdul Karim and Mahfuz al-Tarmisy.

From Mecca, many students of Shaikh Ahmad Khatib who were attracted by ʿAbduh's ideas went to Egypt to further their studies at al-Azhar and other educational institutions. When they returned to Indonesia, they introduced the reforms promulgated by ʿAbduh. ʿAbduh's reformist ideas called for the purification of Islam from corrupting influences and practices; the reformation of Muslim higher education; the reformulation of Islamic doctrine in the light of modern thought; and the defence of Islam (Johns, in press). ʿAbduh's attempt to reformulate Islamic doctrine in the light of modern thought was primarily intended to revitalize Islam to allow it to assume greater responsibility in social, political and educational fields. For this reason, ʿAbduh advocated the abandonment of madhhab,[27] and of the excessive practices of tarekat.

Most students of Shaikh Ahmad Khatib supported these various aspects of ʿAbduh's thought, and upon their return to Indonesia, they spread reformist ideas through their organizations (Noer 1973).

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[27] See further discussion on the madhhab in Chapter VII.

It must be noted, however, that the Indonesian students who studied under Shaikh Ahmad Khatib mostly came from Sumatra. Hurgronje observed that the Indonesian community studying in Mecca in the nineteenth century used two languages, Javanese and Malay, as their medium of instruction. Normally, Javanese, Sundanese and Madurese would go to the Javanese classes, while the Makasarese, Buginese, Acehnese and Lampongese would go to Malay classes (Hurgronje 1931 : 264-7).

The teacher who most influenced Hadratus-Shaikh was Shaikh Mahfuz al-Tarmisy, who followed the tradition of Shaikh Nawawi and Shaikh Sambas. Hadratus-Shaikh's insistence on the madhhab and the importance of tarekat practices was thus closely related to the teachings of his teachers while he was in Mecca. Hadratus-Shaikh accepted the idea of revitalizing Islam, but he rejected the idea of ʿAbduh that Muslims had to abandon madhhab. Hadratus-Shaikh believed that it was impossible to understand the true meaning of the Islamic teachings on the Qur'an and Hadith without consulting the opinions of recognized ʿulamā' embodied within the madhhab system. To interpret the Qur'an and Hadith without consultation of madhahib texts could only result in a great distortion of the true teachings of Islam (Hashim Ashʿari 1938 : 52-5).

Upon his return to Java, Hadratus-Shaikh taught at the pesantren of Kyai Usman, his grandfather, for some months and then established Pesantren Tebuireng. He brought twenty eight students with him from Kyai Usman's pesantren. Within pesantren tradition it is customary for a graduate who wants to establish a new pesantren to bring some of his Kyai's students with him, especially if the graduate is still a close relative of the Kyai. The Kyai's encouragement in this regard is considered as his blessing to his graduate which will help him (as a new Kyai) to attract new students.

From the start of his career as a pesantren leader, Hadratus-Shaikh concentrated his attention on training a small, chosen number of students until they were qualified to establish their own pesantren. He became famous when his first two graduates were successful in developing new pesantren on leaving Tebuireng. Many of the students' pesantren became major pesantren, each educating more than a thousand santri from various parts of Java and Madura. Among the pesantren founded in this way were Pesantren Lasem (in Rembang, Central Java), Pesantren Dārul Ulum, Peterongan and Peantren Mambaʿul Ma ārif, Denanyar (both in Jombang, East Java), Pesantren Lirboyo (in Kediri, East Java), and Pesantren Asembagus (in Situbondo, East Java).

HADRATUS-SHAIKH'S ROLE IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF ISLAM ON JAVA

Parallel with the increasing fame of Hadratus-Shaikh, Islamic modernism as expressed in various religious movements [28] began to spread and to receive influential support in most major cities and towns in Java. What the reaction of Hadratus-Shaikh was during the early stage of the development of these modernist movements is uncertain. Before he founded Jamʿiyyah Nahḍatul ʿUlamā' in 1926, he allowed his most remarkable student, Kyai Wahab Hasbullāh, to take part in the social and religious activities of the modernist groups. It seems that until the death in 1923 of the founder of Muhammadiyah, Kyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan, the modernist ideas of his movement did not yet affront the fundamental ideology of conservative Islam.

The stress on social, economic and political activism was not seen as endangering the position of traditional religious leaders. Nakamura suggests that the enormous increase in the membership of Sarekat Islam toward the end of the 1910's was largely

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[28] Three were most influential : (a) Sarekat Islam, later to become Partai Sarekat Islam, founded in 1911. See Ahmad Timur Jaylani (1958), and Deliar Noer (1973 : 83-92); (b) The Muhammadiyah Movement, founded by Kyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan in 1912. See Alfian (1969), and Deliar Noer (1973 : 73-83); and (c) Persatuan Islam, founded in 1923. See Federspiel (1970), and Deliar Noer (1973 : 83-92).

attributable to the role of local Kyai and haji who mobilized the masses at the grass-roots level (Nakamura 1976 : 108). Nakamura's point does not necessarily imply that there was no ideological differences between those inclined to the modernist faction and those who were more inclined to the traditionalist faction within the Sarekat Islam.[29]

Between the time of the foundation of the Muhammadiyah Movement in 1912 and the death of its founder, Kyai Ahmad Dahlan, there were occasional debates between the Kyai of the pesantren and the ʿulamā' who supported the Muhammadiyah Movement concerning various aspects of Islamic practice. In general, however, both groups, the Kyai of the pesantren and the ʿulamā' of Muhammadiyah supported the activities of Sarekat Islam. This was because Sarekat Islam was less concerned with ideas of religious reform; its leaders were more interested in political activism. Because of the organization's pursuit of unity for all Muslims in Indonesia, the leaders of Sarekat Islam urged that discussions about different opinions on detailed religious practices be discouraged (see Amelz 1952 : 49).

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29 The whole situation in Indonesia, particularly in Java, between 1912 and 1926 needs more detailed explanation, which would carry me too far away from the main focus of my thesis.

The fact that local Kyai and haji supported the Sarekat Islam may indicate that there was no ideological conflict among them. Haji Agus Salim, the main exponent of the Sarekat Islam, paid respect to the teachings of the madhābib (see Saifuddin Zuhri 1979).

In February 1923, the Persatuan Islam (United Islam) was founded in Bandung. Members of the Persatuan Islam propounded uncompromising views that were directed toward traditional Muslim religious thought. Although this religious stance was never popular, yet it attracted a significant number of Muslim intellectuals and its message had an impact on the formulations of Sarekat Islam (Federspiel 1970 : iv). When the fourth congress of Al-Islam was held in Bandung, in February 1926, the congress was dominated by the modernists who responded unfavourably to conservative proposals for the maintenance of traditional practices (such as the teaching of madhābib, the reading of certain prayers, and the preservation of the tombs of the Prophet Muhammad and his close companions in Medina). As a result, Hadratus-Shaikh launched his critical opposition to the modernists by establishing Nahḍatul ʿUlamā' in early 1926.[30] The

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[30] See the NU's Journal "Utusan Nahdlatul Ulama" (The Representative of Nahḍatul ʿUlama'), Vol. I, No. 1 (1 Rajab 1347 A.H. = 14 December 1928), p. 9.

respect for Hadratus-Shaikh among the traditionalist Kyai in East and Central Java attracted them and their followers to Nahḍatul ʿUlamā'. As set forth in its 1927 constitution, the aims of NU were to strengthen adherence to one of the four madhābib in order to pursue activities beneficial to the members and in accordance with Islam. These activities included the strengthening of unity among ʿulamā' who still adhered to the madhhab; the supervision of the use of books at the training centres; the spread of Islam as interpreted by the four madhābib; an increase in the number of madrasah and the improvement of their organization; assistance for mosques, prayer-houses and pesantren; and care for orphans and the poor. Another important activity was the establishment of societies for the advancement of business enterprises of members of Nahḍatul ʿUlamā' (see Noer 1973 : 230-1). Since its foundation, Nahḍatul ʿUlamā' became the bulwark against the expansion of modernist ideas into villages where the majority of Javanese Muslims live. Hadratus'Shaikh's position, then, became crucial to the modernists. On the one hand, he was considered the main leader of the opposition to Islamic modernism; on the other, his influential leadership was needed to meet the new challenge to Islam launched by religiously

neutral nationalist leaders who began, in the late 1920's, to replace the political leadership of the religiously inclined nationalist movement, which had been dominated by H.O.S. Cokroaminoto and Haji Agus Salim, the leaders of Sarekat Islam.[31] To meet this new challenge, Majlis Islam A'la Indonesia (M.I.A.I.; Indonesian Muslim Supreme Council)[32] was established on 21 September 1937 (see Abubakar 1957 : 311, and Deliar Noer 1973 : 242-6) with Hadratus-Shaikh and his son Wahid Hashim as leaders.

In 1944, Hadratus-Shaikh was appointed by the Japanese authorities as the Head of the Office of Religious Affairs for Java and Madura. When modernist and traditionalist Muslims founded the new unified political party "Masjumi" (Majlis Syuro Muslimin

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31 Soekarno, later the first President of the Republic of Indonesia, established the P.N.I. (Partai Nasional Indonesia = Indonesian Nationalist Party) in 1927 after he replaced Cokroaminoto and Agus Salim as the most influential leader of the Indonesian Independence Movement against the Dutch Colonial Government.

32 The first congress was convened especially because of the publication of an article in Bangun, a magazine issued by the religiously neutral Parindra Party (Partai Indonesia Raja = Greater Indonesian Party) in which the writer, Siti Sumandari, in defending a draft of the marriage law as proposed by the Dutch Government, made insulting remarks about Islamic marriage regulations (Noer 1973 : 244-5).

Indonesia = Indonesian Muslims Supreme Council) in 1946, Hadratus-Syekh was elected the Ro'īs ʿĀmm (President of the Supreme Council). He died in 1947 and by the Presidential Decision No. 294/1964, was honoured as a Pahlawan Kemerdekaan Nasional ("Hero of National Independence"). This honour was given because of Hadratus-Shaikh's service to the Indonesian Government during the Independence struggle against the Dutch. Between 1945 and 1947, Hadratus-Shaikh issued two important decisions. First, he declared that the war against the Dutch was a jihad (holy war), and second, he forbade Indonesian Muslims to go on the pilgrimage on Dutch ships. Hadratus-Shaikh's campaign among the Muslims to launch the holy war against the Dutch was effective thanks to his extraordinary influence among traditional Muslims, particularly in East and Central Java. This extraordinary influence among the Kyai and traditional Muslims was due to his success in developing Pesantren Tebuireng as the most important pesantren in Java in the twentieth century. The pesantren became the principal source of leadership for pesantren institutions throughout Java and Madura. In the next chapter I will examine this pesantren in detail.

CHAPTER FOUR

MAJOR PESANTREN IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY : THE CASE OF PESANTREN TEBUIRENG

In the preceding chapters I discussed the pesantren as a part of traditional Islamic educational institutions in Java and examined its main elements and its development until the twentieth century. In this chapter I will examine Pesantren Tebuireng in Jombang as a case study of a particular pesantren. Pesantren Tebuireng was selected for various reasons. First, this pesantren has played a dominant role in the maintenance and development of the pesantren tradition in the twentieth century and it has been the most important source of leadership for pesantren throughout Java and Madura since the 1910's.[1] Second, this pesantren has played a decisive role in the emergence and development

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[1] Most leaders of pesantren in Java and Madura in the twentieth century graduated from Pesantren Tebuireng (see Appendix 1). Rahardjo (1974 : 30) recorded in 1974 that there were at least 500 madrasah with approximately 200,000 students formally affiliated to Pesantren Tebuireng. Saifuddin Zuhri (1977 : 82), former Minister of Religious Affairs, confirmed that Pesantren Tebuireng was '<u>kiblatnya</u>' pesantren which means that its style, system and policy are taken as the accepted model on which other pesantren rely for guidance and leadership.

of Jam'iyyah Nahdatul 'Ulamā' which, since its foundation in 1926, has had an important influence on Indonesian politics.

The Tebuireng complex is close to a large market and faces a symbol of modern technological progress : a big sugar factory built by the Dutch in 1853.

Kelurahan Cukir (population : approximately 7,000 in 1977) in which Pesantren Tebuireng is located, is sited along a provincial road which connects Kediri and Jombang with Surabaya, Madiun and Malang; buses pass along this road every five minutes. There are hundreds of comfortable houses, many with TV sets, all owned by employees from the factory, wealthy traders, the Kyai and rich peasants. Some ten families own cars. However, the majority of people are engaged in farming and small trading activities. The character of Kelurahan Cukir, then, is very unusual; it is a village, but quite urbanized. The elite sector of the community is relatively cosmopolitan while the majority of the population are poor peasants.

The pesantren itself plays a paradoxical role. While it defends the conservative ideas of Islam, it, in fact, contributes to the village's urban character. Since its foundation, it has been influential in both

national and regional politics. Its top leadership is always a part of the national elite, in the Cabinet or Parliament.[2] The 3,219 santri (who live in three pesantren complexes, Pesantren Tebuireng, Seblak and Cukir) have contributed to the development and expansion of the market sector. These santri spend a total of roughly 750,000 rupiah (US$ 1,875) a day in the market for their food and other needs. Thus, I suggest that, while the Kyai and the students are by background villagers, they are, however, quite familiar with and responsive to urban culture.

Since the death of Hadratus-Shaikh, the founder, in 1947, the Pesantren Tebuireng has been constituted a waqf. This means that the pesantren was declared by Hadratus-Shaikh as the property of God and must be utilized for religious purposes. The waqf now owns sixteen hectares of land consisting of three separate blocks. One block, on which the pesantren

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2 Hadratus-Shaikh, the founder of the pesantren, was the President of NU between 1926-1947, the President of the M.I.A.I. (1937-1942), and the President of Masjumi (1943-1947). He was also the Head of the Office of Religious Affairs between 1944-1945. His son, Wahid Hashim, was one of the leading figures of the Committee for the Preparation of Indonesian Independence. Yusuf Hashim, another son, is now a member of the national Parliament and is the Director of the pesantren.

complex was established, consists of about two hectares; the second block comprises about five hectares and is located about one hundred metres from the complex. This second block is used as a sports ground where the students play soccer and volley-ball. The third block is a rice field of about nine hectares, located about nine kilometres south-east of the Tebuireng complex. This third block is the pesantren's most important endowment. The first and the third blocks were donated by Hadratus-Shaikh, while the second block was bought by the pesantren in 1974.

The pesantren complex is surrounded by a two metre high wall. There are two gates to enter the complex which are open between 4.30 a.m. and 8 p.m. Another gate is provided for the Director of the pesantren, his family and guests. Between 8 p.m. and 4.30 a.m., however, students and others are still able to go in and out of the complex through the main gate with the permission of the ten students who are stationed on the gate.

The complex consists of four main units of buildings : (1) the mosque which is located almost in the centre of the complex, (2) the Kyai's house, (3) fifteen units of pondok, and (4) school and

university buildings. The pesantren has its own power generator for electricity and for the water pump of the complex (see Map 2).

The complex is not big enough to provide educational and accommodation facilities for all students. The mosque has only about nine hundred seats for practising prayers, which means that not all the 1,350 santri mukim can participate in the communal prayers in the mosque. There are not enough lecture-rooms in the complex for Hāshim Ashʿari's students. The students of the Faculty of Religious Education must attend the lectures in the Pesantren Denanyar complex (about ten kilometres from Tebuireng), while the students of the Faculty of Islamic Propagation must attend lectures in Jombang town. There are only about 150 rooms for all santri mukim which means that each room is occupied by nine students. Almost all rooms are four metres long, two metres wide and two metres high and this is extremely small for nine students. The condition of the pesantren, however, is relatively better than other pesantren, and it seems to be improving.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF PESANTREN TEBUIRENG AND TEBUIRENG LEADERSHIP

The usual practice of writers on pesantren is to concentrate on its traditional and conservative aspects, and it is assumed that, from a religious point

Map 2

THE COMPLEX OF THE PESANTREN TEBUIRENG
SUGAR FACTORY built 1853
Al-Huffaz
TO JOMBANG
TO KEDIRI
SUNGAI
Hashim Ash'ari University
Thanawiyah
Thanawiyah
Ibtidaiyah
Junior High School
Aliyah & Senior High School
Mosque
Kyai's house & associated buildings
Pondok
1. Kyai Karim Hashim (d 1973)
2 Toilet & bathrooms
3 Canteen
4 Kyai Wahid Hashim (d 1953)
5 S M A office
6 Cemetary for Hashim Ash'ari family
7 M T T office
8 Pondok "M T T"
9 Cooperative shop
10 Guest Room
11 Director's house
12 Garage
13 Office
14 Bathrooms
15 Security office
16 Canteen
17 Bathrooms

of view, the pesantren remains fixed in the moulds created by the Kyai of past generations and that, if anything, it decays rather than progresses.

In some respects, it is true that the explicit formulations of the Kyai's faith have shown little development. Yet, in fact, the inner structure of their religious life has been profoundly re-adjusted. The continuous expansion of Islamic faith and the growth of santri communities centered around Kyai in Java is clear evidence of the vitality which the Kyai have shown in the face of the onslaught of Islamic modernism and secularist ideas in Java in the twentieth century. The "conservative" outlook of the pesantren tradition does not produce an unchanging system but one in which changes are resisted and come about only by slow and imperceptible stages. As Snouck Hurgronje (1906 : 280), a great Dutch Islamologist, warned his colleagues in 1893, Indonesian Islam,

> "... which seemed so static, so sunk in a torpid medievalism, was actually changing in fundamental ways, but these changes were so gradual, so subtle, so concentrated in remote and, to non-Islamic minds, unlikely places, that although they take place before our very eyes, they are hidden from those who do not make a careful study of the subject" (Geertz 1963 : 16).

In the following pages, I will examine the continuity underlying the traditions and changes of the Pesantren Tebuireng from its foundation to the present

time. Since Tebuireng has been the most influential pesantren in Java in the twentieth century it is impossible to discuss its internal developments without also discussing at least some of the involvement of Tebuireng's Kyai in historical developments of Islam in Indonesia.

Pesantren Tebuireng, which began to attract numerous advanced students from the time of its foundation in 1899, took only about ten years to become a major pesantren. This was due to the scholarly qualifications and organizational competence of Hadratus-Shaikh. It is wrong, however, to argue that the development of Tebuireng first into a major pesantren and then into the most famous pesantren in Java in the twentieth century, was solely due to the personality of Hadratus-Shaikh. Many Kyai contributed to this development, not just because their help was requested by Hadratus-Shaikh but because these Kyai regarded Tebuireng as their own.

Hadratus-Shaikh's success was undoubtedly due to the competent staff who supported him. Most of the senior members of this staff, such as Kyai Alwi, Kyai Ma'sum, Kyai Baidawi, Kyai Ilyas, Kyai Wahid Hashim, were close relatives who took a decisive role in the development of the pesantren.

Like all other pesantren Tebuireng between 1899-1916 followed the sorogan and bandongan teaching system. In present-day Tebuireng, the sorogan method

is no longer in use. To what extent it was employed in the earlier period is uncertain but it was probably very limited, given Tebuireng's concentration, since its early foundation, upon the training of intermediate and advanced students.

A student who followed the bandongan system for about three years was then instructed to teach sorogan to new santri. In this way the Kyai would know whether he was a good teacher and might improve his qualification to become a reader in halaqah class. Promising students who were successful in teaching in halaqah classes were trained further in the mushawarah class which was led by Hadratus-Shaikh himself. In this class, the method of teaching was completely different from the two previous systems. The students were required to study the advanced texts by themselves. Hadratus-Shaikh sat down and gave his lessons in the form of a seminar which was organized according to the questions and subjects that were set in advance. Before him sat students discussing those subjects. Those who wanted to contribute their opinion had to refer directly to the texts to support their arguments. Simple though that method was, it had many of the advantages of academic study, as it gathered the Kyai and students together in an atmosphere of friendliness

and offered them the chance of free discussion.[3] In this way the Kyai could examine his students in various religious subjects, and he could ascertain their intelligence, maturity in handling reliable sources and traditions, breadth of reading, and their ability to find solutions for problems and ways out of dilemmas especially in the jurisprudence of the Shafi'ite madhhab. The Kyai would grant a qualified student an "ijaza" (certificate) and give him his blessing to establish a new pesantren to teach his own students. The fact that most of Hadratus-Shaikh's students who graduated from his mushawarah class became well-known ʿulamā' indicates the effectiveness of his system. It is important to note that the percentage of the students who could take part in the mushawarah class was very small compared with the total number of students, since the selection to participate in this class was very keen.[4]

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3 The information concerning the training system in this mushawarah class is primarily based on my personal interviews with Kyai Haji M. Shukri Gozali, now the Vice Chairman of Majlis ʿUlamā' Nasional in Jakarta, and Kyai Mahfuz Anwar, now a member of Shuriah NU in East Java. Both participated in the mushawarah class in the late 1920's and are now two great ʿulamā' in Indonesia.

4 The period of participation in the mushawarah class depends on the intelligence, maturity and knowledge of the students. Kyai Shukri Gozali, my uncle, for example, took part in the class for only three months. He graduated from the Madrasah Mambaʿul ʿUlūm and Pesantren Jamsaren in Surakarta before he joined the mushawarah class in Tebuireng.

During the first decade of Tebuireng's development, Kyai Alwi, Hadratus-Shaikh's brother-in-law, who was also trained in Mecca, assumed an active role.

Kyai Maʿsum, Hadratus-Shaikh's first son-in-law, was responsible for the introduction of the madrasah system in the Pesantren in 1916 and for the introduction of the teaching of some secular subjects in 1919. He wrote some books on Amthilah al-Tasrīfiyyah (Examples of Arabic Morphology), algebra and mathematics. He was an influential Kyai with a strong personality. When Hadratus-Shaikh, supported by most well-known Kyai in East and Central Java, founded Nahdatul ʿUlamā' in 1926, Kyai Maʿsum ʿAli, however, did not immediately join the organization.[5] It was only at the fifth congress in 1930, that he joined NU, and was regarded by most Kyai as an important achievement of NU. Abubakar noted that,

> The most important thing to note about this fifth congress was Kyai Maʿsum ʿAli's joining of NU. He was an influential ʿulamā' whose joining of NU had been most expected. (Abubakar 1957: 483).

Between 1916 and 1934 the madrasah provided a seven-year course of study and was divided into two

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[5] I failed to solicit explanations for why Kyai Maʿsum did not join NU soon after its establishment. Kyai Maʿsum's interests in developing the madrasah system and the introduction of the teaching of secular subjects in Tebuireng show his inclination to modernizing the pesantren system. This might, perhaps, explain why he posphoned his support for NU until he was sure that NU was, in fact, in favour of modernization of traditional educational system.

levels. The first- and second-year classes were called sifir awwal (first year matriculation) and sifir thani (second year matriculation). They provided a matriculation for further study at the following five-year madrasah. Admission to sifir awwal was through an examination set by the teachers to determine the candidate's ability to read the Qur'an. The two-year matriculation was solely intended to increase students' qualification in Arabic grammar, and upon their successful examination, they were admitted to the first year of the following five-year madrasah. The curricula of the madrasah, between 1916-1919, consisted wholly of religious subjects. Indonesian language, mathematics and geography were later introduced in 1919 (Husny Thamrin 1969:154). The madrasah classes were given between 7 and 11.30 a.m. In 1926, a greater number of secular subjects, such as Dutch and history, were added. This was possible because Muhammad Ilyas, Hadratus-Shaikh's nephew who was educated at Hollandse Inlandsche School in Surabaya, settled in Tebuireng and was appointed as a teacher in the madrasah. Ilyas replaced Kyai Ma'sum as the director of the madrasah in 1928 when the latter was "promoted"[6] to the directorship of Pesantren Seblak. In

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[6] I do not use the term "promotion" here in its ordinary sense. The point is, Hadratus-Shaikh established a new complex, Pesantren Seblak, about 200 metres from Tebuireng, to cope with the increasing number of students flocking to Tebuireng in the 1920's. In 1923, a madrasah was established in Seblak. Hadratus-Shaikh, then, probably let Kyai Ma'sum take charge of the Pesantren Seblak as a separate pesantren from Tebuireng.

1934, apart from the two-year matriculation, the madrasah was extended to six years of study, probably because a greater number of secular subjects had been added.

With the introduction of the madrasah system, the sorogan method was abolished, while the bandongan lectures were given in the early morning, afternoon and at night.

Kyai Wahid Hashim, the oldest son of Hadratus-Shaikh, took an important role in the modernization of Tebuireng. He was born in 1914. Early in life he was, like his father, noted for his intelligence and profound learning. At first, he studied mainly under his own father, learning elementary theology, jurisprudence and Arabic literature. He was so brilliant that when he was seven years old he was mature enough to begin learning classical Islamic texts such as Fathul Qarib (Introduction to Elementary Islamic Law) written by al-Gazali, and Minhāj al-Qawīm (The Straight Path), a fiqh text written by Shaikh 'Abd al-Rahmān Bafadal. He continued his studies in various pesantren between the age of thirteen and fifteen (Abubakar 1957 : 146).

Wahid Hashim's interests were not confined to studying classical Islamic texts. Upon his return to Tebuireng in 1929, he studied Dutch and English by

correspondence and subscribed to various magazines, such as Penjebar Semangat (Spreader of Courage), Daulat Rakyat (The People Sovereignty), Panji Pustaka (Standard Book) Ummul Qura, Sautul Hijaz (The Voice of Hijaz), al-Latā'if al-Mushawarah (The Significance of Consultation), Kullu Shay'in wa'l Dunyā (Everything and the World), and al-Ithnayn (Abubakar 1957 : 146). The first three magazines were published by the religiously neutral nationalist groups, and the last five ones were published in the Middle East. It is significant that Wahid Hashim, from his early age, was a creative participant in the emergence and development of modern Indonesia. This is very important because, as a son of an influential Kyai, he had a greater opportunity to determine the future role of pesantren institutions in Indonesia.

He taught at halaqah classes in Tebuireng when he was seventeen years old. In 1932 or 1933, when he was seventeen, he went to Mecca to continue his studies. Upon his return from Saudi Arabia, he proposed a radical reform of educational method. He argued that the stress on the bandongan system should be replaced by more systematic guidance in developing students' initiatives; that students should not stress just classical Islamic texts; and that the students had to be taught a greater proportion of secular subjects. In 1950, Wahid Hashim clarified his arguments as follows : The majority of students who studied in pesantren institutions did not want to become ʿulamā'. It was a waste of time for them

to learn the Arabic language and religious texts in Arabic. He considered that some months training in the practise of Islamic rituals followed by the study of translated Islamic texts was more appropriate for the majority of pesantren students. He suggested that the study of original Islamic texts be limited to a small number of students who wanted to become ʿulamāʾ (Wahid Hashim 1957 : 820-824).

Hadratus-Shaikh disagreed with Wahid Hashim's proposals. Hadratus-Shaikh believed that such a radical reform would create uneasiness among pesantren leaders. Hadratus-Shaikh, however, gave way to Wahid Hashim on another of his experiments : the establishment of Madrasah Nizāmiyah in 1934 in which the teaching of secular subjects represented seventy percent of the curriculum.

In this year Wahid Hashim also established a library. Apart from 1,000 volumes (mostly religious texts), this library subscribed to many magazines and newspapers, including Panji Islam (Banner of Islam), Dewan Islam (Islamic Council), Islam Bergerak (Islam on the Move), Berita Nahdlatul Ulama (Nahḍatul ʿUlamāʾ's Report), Adil (Justice), Nūrul-Islam (Light of Islam), Al-Munawwarah (The Enlightened), Panji Pustaka (Standard Book), Pustaka Timur (Treasure of the East), Pudjangga Baru (New Poet), and Penjebar Semangat (Spreader of Courage). The first seven journals were published by various Islamic organizations in the 1930's,

either by modernists or by traditionalists. The last four journals were published by religiously neutral nationalist groups. Indeed, of these eleven journals, only the Berita Nahdlatul Ulama consistently represented the traditionalist view. Wahid Hashim's subscription to the journals of modernist Islam and of the religiously neutral nationalists suggests his progressive and tolerant attitude in ideological, social and political matters.[7]

Students were encouraged to read those journals as much as possible. Newly arrived newspapers were put on the public notice board in front of the mosque so that the santri could more easily read them. In this way, the santri could become well-informed on social, economic, and political events, both inside and outside the country.

Another important development (from the secular point of view) was the introduction, during this period, of courses in public speaking, as well as courses in Dutch, English and typing.

The number of students also increased. Starting with twenty-eight santri in 1899, student number rose to two hundred in the late 1910's, and ten years later reached about two thousand . A new complex was established in Seblak, about

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[7]The fact that Wahid Hashim was chosen as one of the nine members of the subcommittee of Badan Penyelidik Kemerdekaan Indonesia = Body for the Investigation of Indonesian Independence) in June 1945 to formulate the draft preamble to the Indonesian Constitution indicates his intellectual capacity to bridge the differences between the traditionalist Kyai, modernist Muslims and national-secularist (see Boland 1971, passim; Lev 1972:41-3; Emmerson 1976:57-9).

150 metres from Tebuireng, in 1923. Later developments, however, changed Seblak to a female santri complex led by a granddaughter of Hadratus-Shaikh.

The Madrasah Nizāmiyah disappeared when Wahid Hashim joined the leadership of Nahḍatul ʿUlama' in 1938. His interest in politics, then, overshadowed his interest in being an ʿulama', and politics soon occupied most of his time and energy.

In this new profession he was particularly successful. In Nahḍatul ʿUlamā', he was appointed as the Assistant Chairman of the Tanfīdhiyyah which ran the day-to-day affairs of politics and government. In 1940, he was elected as the Chairman of the M.I.A.I. In 1941-1942, he returned to Tebuireng to assist his father as the Assistant Director of the Pesantren.

The Japanese established the Shumubu (Office of Religious Affairs) in Jakarta in 1943, and in 1944 Wahid Hashim was appointed as the Head of the Office as the representative of his father, Hadratus-Shaikh, who was the formal head but did not wish to leave Tebuireng. He held this position until the end of the Japanese Occupation of Indonesia in August 1945. Before the Japanese left Indonesia, the Japanese formed the Badan Penyelidik Kemerdekaan Indonesia (B.P.K.I.) to which Wahid Hashim was appointed. As an influential member of the B.P.K.I., he was chosen as one of the

nine members of the subcommittee of the B.P.K.I. to formulate the draft preamble to the Indonesian Constitution. When Soekarno, the first President of the Republic of Indonesia, formed his initial Cabinet in September 1945, Wahid hashim was appointed as a State Minister. In 1946, when Kyai Mahfuz died, he replaced Kyai Mahfuz Siddiq as the President of the Tanfīdhiyyah of NU and in 1947, he replaced his father as the Director of Pesantren Tebuireng. From 1949 to 1952 he was the Minister of Religious Affairs of the Republic and made three important contributions which influenced Indonesia's future system of education :

(1) He issued the Indonesian Government Regulation dated 20 January 1951 making compulsory the teaching of religion or religious subjects in all public and private schools administered by the Ministry of Education;

(2) He established Sekolah Guru dan Hakim Agama Negeri (Government Schools for Religious Teachers and Administrative Staff of Islamic Courts) in Malang, Banda Aceh, Bandung, Bukittinggi and Yogyakarta; and

(3) He established Pendidikan Guru Agama Negeri (Government Islamic Teachers' Colleges) in Tanjungpinang, Banda Aceh, Padang, Banjarmasin, Jakarta, Tanjungkarang, Bandung, Pamekasan and Salatiga.

In the National Congress in April 1952 in Palembang, Nahḍatul ʿUlamā' declared itself as a political party, separated from the Masjumi, and appointed Wahid

Hashim as the first Chairman of the Party. In 1953, Wahid Hashim was killed in a car accident. Khaliq Hashim, his elder brother, succeeded him as Director; he led Pesantren Tebuireng until his death in 1965.

Since the death of Hadratus-Shaikh in 1947, the mushawarah class has been discontinued because there was no great ʿulamā' who could replace him. Most senior santri, however, until the early 1970's, could still participate in halaqah classes in which advanced texts were taught by distinguished Kyai, such as Kyai Baidawi, Kyai Idris, Kyai Adlan ʿAli, Kyai Karim Hashim and Kyai Manan.

In the 1950's, the madrasah system was re-organized to meet the new socio-educational conditions of the community. The following madrasah were established :
(1) Madrasah Ibtidāiyah for the elementary religious training of children aged between six and twelve;
(2) Madrasah Thanāwiyah (Junior High School madrasah);
(3) Madrasah ʿĀliyah (Senior High School madrasah); and
(4) Madrasah Muʿallimīn (High School Religious Teacher Training).

This development seems paradoxical, or it could even be called a retreat from Tebuireng's original programme emphasizing advanced studies. In the 1950's and 1960's Tebuireng was under pressure to change its status so as to provide elementary and intermediate training, while advanced training in the mushawarah class was discontinued.

Kyai Idris, a remarkable student and another son-in-law of Hadratus-Shaikh, who began to teach in Tebuireng in 1953, was aware of this decline, but he realized that he himself was insufficiently qualified and popular to reactivate the mushawarah class.[8] This awareness, however, motivated him to concentrate his teaching activities upon a small number of students whom he expected to reach a high standard of knowledge and run their own pesantren upon their graduation from Tebuireng.

The number of students directly taught by Kyai Idris amounted to no more than twenty; thus only one out of a hundred potential students were admitted to his class. The conditions for admission were : (1) that a candidate had been a resident of Tebuireng for at least three years; (2) that he had finished his Thanawiyah class; (3) that he had demonstrated keen motivation and excellent qualifications; and (4) that he applied personally for admission. Whether or not a candidate was accepted depended on the Kyai's observation of the candidate's performance during his three-year stay in Tebuireng and on whether he fulfilled the second and third criteria set out for admission. There was also

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8 This was explained to me by Kyai Nurazis, Nyai Hadijah Maʿsum, Kyai Mahfuz Anwar and many of Kyai Idris' students.

an examination set by the Kyai in which the candidate had to show that he had memorized the morphology of two hundred basic Arabic words, amthilah al-tasrīfiyyah ("Standard of Morphology"). When he passed this test, he then had to swear an oath that he would not quit Kyai Idris' class until the Kyai considered him qualified to run his own pesantren.

A candidate who was accepted also had to promise that he would always be obedient to whatever he was taught, and he would follow faithfully the communal prayers led by Kyai Idris. Participation in these communal prayers was regarded by the students as the most onerous part of the curriculum. The practice of communal prayers was as follows : all students had to perform the five obligatory prayers together. These prayers were followed by strict observance of dhikir in order to increase the individual's awareness of his submissive relationship to Allāh. Kyai Idris always performed much longer prayers than other Kyai, so each communal prayer took at least forty minutes. This meant that Kyai Idris' twenty students spent three and a half hours performing the five communal prayers each day.

The system of study developed by Kyai Idris was highly personal and it stressed individual initiative and discipline. A student had to pass through a strictly graded sequence . After a candidate could demonstrate his ability to memorize amthilah al-tasrīfiyyah, the next step was to memorize the matan

(abridged version) of al-Jurūmiyyah (a grammar book written by Shaikh Zaini Dahlan al-Jurumi) as a prerequisite for participation in the first semester in which sharah (the elaboration of) al-Jurūmiyyah, sharah Asmawi (a grammar book written by Asmawi), and Kafrawi (a grammar book written by Kafrawi) were discussed. In the second and third semesters, four more texts on Arabic grammar, i.e. al Fiyyah Ibnu Mālik,[9] Dahlan Alfiyyah (the Elaboration of Alfiyyah written by Dahlan), Asmuni (a grammar book written by Asmuni), and Mughni Labīb (a grammar book written by Mughni Labīb), were studied. By the end of the semester, the students had to be able to memorize the one thousand bait of al-Fiyyah, indicating their acquisition of a developed knowledge of Arabic grammar. In the next two semesters the students were required to discuss various texts on Arabic literature, and to demonstrate an elementary knowledge of fiqh such as Taqrib[10] and Safinah al-Najah.[11] In the following semesters the students had to

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[9]The rules of Arabic grammar have been condensed into one thousand poetic sentences (bait) by Ibnu Malik. That is why they are called al Fiyyah (one thousand) Ibnu Malik.

[10]Taqrib literally means the Approach. It is an abridged version of Fathul Qarib (The Opening of He who is very close) a fiqh book written by Muhammad Ibnu Qosim al-Ghazali; the Taqrib itself was written by Abi Suja'.

[11] Safinah al-Najah literally means "The [Sailing] Ship towards the Fortune. It is a fiqh book written by Salim bin Samir al-Ja'far al-Khudari.

participate in discussions of advanced texts on fiqh, usul fiqh, tawhīd, hadīths, tafsir and Sufism.

In the discussion of texts, Kyai Idris encouraged initiative in his students and they were urged to show that they read and could translate the texts by themselves. Students who had completed their third-year studies were instructed to teach other less advanced students in reading and translating texts in halaqah classes. They were, in fact, junior teachers. In present-day Tebuireng, almost all teachers who teach elementary and intermediate texts come from the last group of Kyai Idris' students. With the loss[12] of Kyai Idris in 1973 there has been a growing pessimism over whether Pesantren Tebuireng is still capable of producing a new generation of qualified Kyai who can develop new pesantren.

Yusuf Hashim, another of Hadratus-Shaikh's sons, assumed the leadership of the Tebuireng in 1965 and has continued as Director to the present-day. He was born in 1929 and a time when Hadratus-Shaikh was already the Ro'īs ʿĀmm of Nahdatul ʿUlamā'. This seems to have affected Yusuf Hashim's outlook since he has always been more interested in politics than in being an ʿulamā'.

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[12] Kyai Idris left for the Middle East in 1973 and has lived in Saudi Arabia ever since. His main reason for leaving Tebuireng was that he was disappointed with Yusuf Hashim's introduction of co-education in Tebuireng.

During the Japanese Occupation and the Independence Struggle against the Dutch (1942-1949), he joined the Hizbullah (Indonesian Muslim Soldiers). After the withdrawal of the Dutch from Indonesia in December 1949, his batallion merged with the Tentara Nasional Indonesia (Indonesian Army). He was pensioned in 1956 as a lieutenant; and since then, has been active in politics. Besides being a member of Parliament, he is also the Vice Chairman of NU and the Partai Persatuan Pembangunan (United Development Party).

As Director of Tebuireng, he established the Dewan Kyai (the Kyai Council) and Majlis al-Tarbiyyah wa'l Taʿlīm (Students Council for Educational Affairs) to take charge of the daily educational affairs and religious life of the pesantren. He himself has taken full charge of the more mundane affairs of pesantren life, such as the maintenance of financial resources and expenditures and the construction of new buildings. Although not a religious scholar, Yusuf Hashim is a capable organizer. He has regular and fruitful contact with most Kyai in Java, visiting them in their pesantren. Kyai Adlan ʿAli, the Head of the Dewan Kyai who is regarded as one of the most influential

Kyai in East Java, holds Yusuf Hashim in high regard.[13]

It is important to note in Yusuf Hashim's case, that it is now possible for a non- ʿulamā' to hold the highest position of leadership in a pesantren. Previously, this was impossible in traditional pesantren. But it must also be noted that Yusuf Hashim's success in leading Pesantren Tebuireng is because of the support given to him by many Kyai in Jombang, especially the two most respected ʿulamā', Kyai Bishri Shamsuri and Kyai Adlan ʿAli.

Under the directorship of Yusuf Hashim (the fourth son of Hadratus-Shaikh), who took over the leadership in 1965, there has been further innovation,

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[13] A quote from my fieldnotes gives some indication of this regard : After performing Friday prayer on 12 May 1978, Yusuf Hashim, Kyai Adlan ʿAli and I, were engaged in a conversation in Yusuf Hashim's house. Yusuf told Kyai Adlan about Kyai Zaeni of Probolinggo, East Java whose six hundred students had deserted him because of his support for the Golkar (Government) Party in the 1977 general election. Kyai Zaeni dropped his support for Golkar in 1978 in the hope that he could regain his respect as a leader of a pesantren. Most Kyai in Probolinggo, however, would not accept his apology and continued to exclude him from NU. Kyai Zaeni then asked Yusuf Hashim's help in convincing the Kyai in Probolinggo that Kyai Zaeni had realized his mistakes and wished sincerely to restore his reputation as the leader of his pesantren. Yusuf Hashim told Kyai Adlan ʿAli that he, Kyai Adlan, was the more appropriate person to approach the Kyai in Probolinggo because East Javanese Kyai respected Kyai Adlan ʿAli.

In this conversation between Yusuf Hashim and Kyai Adlan, one could sense the deep respect of Kyai Adlan for Yusuf. Kyai Adlan promised to go to Probolinggo and do what Yusuf had suggested.

particularly with the establishment of Hashim Ash'ari University in 1967 for both male and female students. Although this university is still limited in that it offers only undergraduate courses (one half on religious and one half on secular subjects), this development is a step in regaining for the pesantren its earlier status as a higher educational institution. More important from the religious point of view is the introduction of co-education for male and female santri. This is a very considerable innovation and a rather special development which was strongly criticised by most Kyai in East and Central Java : Pesantren Tebuireng has broken a strongly established custom in Islam that maintains the seclusion of females from the male community. Although they study with male students, female santri still live in the Cukir and Seblak complexes which are not far from Tebuireng.

In 1971 Madrasah al-Huffaz was established. This madrasah offers special training to produce students qualified not only in elementary and intermediate religious knowledge and in Arabic, but students who can also memorize the entire Qur'an. The students are also taught al-qira'ah al-sab'ah (the seven versions of ______). The science of tajwīd is a branch of the study of the Qur'an. It is the science of the correct pronunciation

of Arabic phonemes on their own, phonemic assimilations, short and long contrasts of vowels, and the study of punctuation marks.[14]

In 1975 two secular schools, Sekolah Menengah Pertama (Junior High School) and Sekolah Menengah Atas (Senior High School) were established, admitting both male and female students. This is of course only a further development of the previous introduction of secular subjects into the pesantren. However, the introduction of SMP and SMA means that some Tebuireng graduates are not trained only in religion nor are they obliged to adopt the teaching of religion as a profession; they are also men of the world. Their culture, experience and ideology opens to them work in every field of learning and production.

THE CURRENT STAFF OF TEBUIRENG

Despite the fact that Tebuireng still maintains its status as a major pesantren, it now faces a most serious problem, i.e. the shortage of qualified staff. Since the departure of Kyai Idris for the Middle East in 1973, there has not been a Kyai of his stature

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[14] The standard tajwīd, commonly read in Indonesia has to be mastered by all students of pesantren. The difficulties encountered by the students in their early stage of learning in pesantren, are well illustrated by Muhammad Rajab (1950).

who could replace him. Tebuireng has only about one hundred and forty four staff responsible for teaching its 2,098 students. One hundred and nineteen of these staff are part-time teachers; seventy-eight of them lecture the undergraduate students of the Hāshim Ashʿari University and the rest teach students at the al-Huffāz and the SMP and SMA and teach secular subjects at the madrasah. The lecturers at the Hāshim Ashʿari University are mostly lecturers at the State Institute of Islamic Studies in Surabaya who come to Tebuireng once a week. Teachers of the SMP and SMA are "borrowed" from various government high-schools in Jombang. This is because Tebuireng does not yet have its own trained teachers in secular subjects. The reliance on these part-time staff certainly disadvantages Tebuireng in its effort to train students who are fully socialised by pesantren life.

The situation of the full-time staff is less serious, but there are also some problems here. First of all, besides the absence of a high-calibre Kyai, there is not any member of the Dewan Kyai who lives in the pesantren complex. Consequently, the Dewan Kyai cannot properly perform its duties to take charge of the daily educational affairs and religious life of the pesantren.

The members of the Dewan Kyai of Pesantren Tebuireng are : (1) Kyai Adlan ʿAli, the Head of the Dewan, (2) Kyai Shamsuri Badawi, (3) Kyai Sabari, (4) Kyai Manan, and (5) Kyai Aziz Mashuri.

Kyai Adlan ʿAli was the grandson of Kyai ʿAbdul Jabbar, the leader of Pesantren Maskumambang in Gresik, an important pesantren in the later part of the nineteenth century. As a young boy, he went to Tebuireng to study, following Kyai Maʿsum ʿAli, his older brother, who was Hadratus-Shaikh's first son-in-law. Hadratus-Shaikh married Kyai Adlan to one of Hadratus-Shaikh's nieces. Since completing his study in the 1930's, he has been a member of teaching staff of Tebuireng. His position as the leader of Tebuireng tarekat now prevents him from giving lectures in halaqah classes and so he allows Kyai Shamsuri to run the day-to-day educational and religious affairs of Tebuireng. His position as the Head of the Dewan Kyai is now symbolic, while day-to-day authority in the Pesantren is exercised by Kyai Shamsuri.

Kyai Shamsuri was born in Cirebon, West Java. He had not yet completed his mushāwarah class when Hadratus-Shaikh died in 1947. However, he seems to have shown initiative in consulting various advanced texts in fiqh, tafsir, hadith and Sufism. He lives next

to the pesantren complex. He is responsible for leading the daily prayers in the pesantren mosque, giving lectures in advanced halaqah classes and exercising the authority of the Kyai on behalf of Yusuf Hāshim and Kyai Adlan ʿAli.

Kyai Sabari was born and lives in Bogem (about five kilometres northeast of Tebuireng). He was a student of Hadratus-Shaikh, and spent eight years in Mecca in the 1930's for further studies. Upon his return from Mecca, he established his own pondok in Bogem but could not attract enough students. In the early 1940's, he joined the senior staff in Tebuireng.

Kyai Manan was born and still resides in a village about seven kilometres from Tebuireng. He studied in Tebuireng and was a contemporary of Kyai Shamsuri. Both, Kyai Sabari and Kyai Manan give lectures in advanced halaqah classes twice a week, and teach Arabic gràmmar and literature at the Madrasah 'Āliyah. They do not participate in leading the daily prayers in the pesantren.

Kyai Aziz Mashuri was appointed as a member of the Dewan Kyai in 1979, a year after I left Tebuireng. He was born at Tuban and is about 35 years old. His father, Kyai Mashuri is a close relative of Kyai Bisri Shamsuri, the now Ro'īs ʿĀmm of the Nahdatul

ʿUlamā'. Kyai Bishri married Kyai Aziz to one of Kyai Bishri's granddaughters. He is the Secretary of the Majlis Imarah ʿUlamā' (Joint Council of ʿUlamā') of Jombang, and a member of the Maʿārif NU (Department of Education of NU) in East Java. He is a religious scholar of high calibre and already plays an important role in the conferences of ʿulamā' in Jombang.

To compensate for the weakness of the Dewan Kyai, the Director of Tebuireng has imposed upon Majlis al-Tarbiyyah wa'l Taʿlīm a greater role. This Majlis is in charge of students' affairs and the annual planning for the teaching of classical Islamic texts at both halaqah classes and the madrasah. The Majlis also sets out rules of conduct, discipline and welfare for the students, organizes jamʿiyyah, and chooses readers for halaqah classes. Twenty out of the thirty members of the Executive Committee of the Majlis are senior santri who also teach junior and intermediate santri in bandongan classes and the madrasah. These twenty senior santri obtain the title ustādh. These asātidha are very powerful. In general, they impose the discipline and spirit of life and study in the pesantren. The Director and the Kyai seldom interfere in this matter.

In examining new candidates, placing them in particular rooms, setting up and enforcing regulations, and finally, looking after the disadvantaged students,

the Majlis follows a set of regulations. The following is the list of these regulations as issued by the Majlis on 26 October 1977 :

1-1 : Every santri mukim must live in the pesantren complex.

1-2 : Every santri mukim must be a student of the madrasah, (Ibtida'iyyah, SP Thanawiyah, Thanawiyah or 'Aliyah), or the Sekolah Menengah Pertama, or the Sekolah Menengah Atas Wahid Hashim, or if not, he must attend at least four halaqah classes a day.

1-3 : Between 8.30 and 9.30 p.m. every student must attend the daily group-discussion which is relevant to his class at school.

1-4 : Every student must take part in guard duty once a month and be stationed at the pesantren's gate at night to prevent students from leaving the complex illegally.

1-5 : All students must be in "bed" at 10.30 p.m.

1-6 : All students must get up at 4.30 a.m.

2-1 : No student is allowed to have long hair or wear a necklace. All students must wear the appropriate clothes recommended by Islam.

2-2 : No student is allowed to injure others. Students are not allowed to speak loudly or play jokes in the pesantren at night. They are not allowed to do either on the streets whether in the afternoon or at night.

2-3 : No student is allowed to quarrel.

2-4 : No student is allowed to take the property of another student without his permission.

2-5 : No student is allowed to speak publicly of the loss of his property. He must personally report the loss to the security personnel of the Majlis.

2-6 : No student is allowed to engage in "free" relationships with women or girls.

2-7 : No student is allowed to climb the wall which surrounds the pesantren complex.

2-8 : No student is allowed to ride a push-bike or motor-bike in the pesantren complex.

2-9 : No student is allowed to switch on his radio or tape recorder between 10.30 p.m. and 4.30 a.m. nor during the performance of the daily prayers.

2-10 : No student is allowed to leave the pesantren complex between 8 p.m. and 5 a.m.

2-11 : No student is allowed to take recreation except on Tuesday night.

The members of the Majlis numbered 30 in 1978, and were appointed directly by Yusuf Hashim. They were senior santri who were honorary members of the regional and residential clubs and had taught in halaqah classes or in the madrasah. Most were either third year students at Hāshim Ashʿari University or had already finished their B.A. degree.

CURRENT NUMBER OF SANTRI AT TEBUIRENG

In the 1977-1978 academic year, there were 2,098 students enrolled in the pesantren. The santri mukim in the Tebuireng complex numbered 1,350, and all were males. Sixty-five female santri lived in the Cukir complex, and about seventy-five male santri lived in the Denanyar complex. There were also six hundred and eight santri kalong from Jombang proper. The list of the names and addresses of the 1,350 santri mukim showed them to come from widely dispersed areas. There were 540 from

East Java, 275 from Central Java, 265 from Jakarta, 185 from West Java, and 85 from outside Java and Madura.[15] Most of the students came from families of well-off peasants and small traders or manufacturers, and religious functionaries (teachers, ʿulamā' and <u>muballigh</u> = religious preachers). It is clear from the address list that many were from villages (including the Jakartans who were mostly Betawi living in the fringe areas of Jakarta).[16] Since the average villager could not afford the approximate Rp. 10,000.00 ($25) a month, which it costs to send a boy there for lodging, fees, food and transport,[17] these students must have come from the richer village families, the middle class within Javanese social stratification.

I looked up the official notes made by the administrators of Pesantren Tebuireng about the amount of money by money order received by the 663 students

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[15] This data suggest that Tebuireng, like other major pesantren whose students come from various parts of Indonesia, contributes well to the development of a sense of unity among Indonesians of diverse ethnic groups.

[16] Most Betawi are strongly traditional Muslims. Many of them send their children to study in various pesantren in East Java (see my unpublished M.A. thesis, Dhofier 1976).

[17] Tebuireng's students have to pay, approximately, Rp. 1,200 for school fees, Rp. 600 for board, and Rp. 6,000 for food a month. (<u>Sources</u> : Tebuireng dari Masa ke Masa, 1978 = Tebuireng from Age to Age, 1978 : 48).

in June 1978.[18] 283 students received less than Rp. 10,000, 304 received between Rp. 10,000 and Rp. 19,999, and finally 76 students received Rp. 20,000 or more. This means that more than fifty percent of the students receive Rp. 10,000 (equivalent to $25 in 1978) a month, a considerable amount of money for the average Javanese. Since many of them come from outside East Java, their parents must spend a lot of money to support their children living in Pesantren Tebuireng.

Although the number of santri kalong is relatively large (608), very few of them come from surrounding villages. These santri kalong, encouraged by the rapid population growth and cheaper transport facilities, come from distant areas of Jombang District and can support the high cost of their studies in Pesantren Tebuireng.

CURRENT EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES OF TEBUIRENG

Present-day Tebuireng is a complex educational institution. It now provides ten educational

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18 I could not trace the amount of money received by the other 687 santri mukim. Many of them, especially those who came from East Java, went home once a month and brought monev back with them. There were also many students who received money via some messengers. For example, students' parents from Kendal paid a messenger to go to Tebuireng to give the money and letters personally to the students. Some students, especially those who came from Jakarta and Sumatra, received the money, usually more than Rp. 20,000 by bank transfer. They avoided receiving money by money order because the pesantren imposes a five percent obligatory contribution on each money order.

activities; each of its ten educational activities seems to serve different purposes of education. For those who make only a quick study of Tebuireng it will be confusing to follow each of these ten educational activities. To avoid this confusion, I propose to consider Tebuireng as a whole and then to consider each of its ten educational activities.

In the past, the educational purpose of Tebuireng was to train ʿulamāʾ. In present-day Indonesia, the educational purposes of Tebuireng have been reformulated, i.e. to train students who can later develop themselves to become "ʿulamāʾ intellektuil" (ʿulamāʾ who also master secular knowledge) and "intellektuil ʿulamāʾ" (scholars of modern knowledge, who also master Islamic knowledge). To serve these purposes Tebuireng now has in operation ten formal types of educational activities : (1) Bandongan classes, (2) Madrasah Ibtidāiyyah, (3) Sekolah Persiapan Thanāwiyyah (a special matriculation for admission to Madrasah Thanāwiyyah), (4) Madrasah Thanāwiyyah, (5) Madrasah ʿĀliyah, (6) Sekolah Menengah Pertama, (7) Sekolah Menengah Atas, (8) Madrasah al-Huffaz, (9) Jamʿiyyah, and (10) Hāshim Ashʿāri University.[19]

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[19] I have summarised brief information on these ten educational activities in Appendix IV.

These ten educational activities are organized separately, and at different times. In this way, students can participate in as many educational activities as possible. All students are obliged to participate in the performance of daily obligatory prayers and the jamʿiyyah. Students of both madrasah and the secular schools are urged to participate in the halaqah classes. It is also common to find students of the Madrasah ʿĀliyah who also participate in afternoon classes of the SMA.

Before I discuss the ten educational activites of Tebuireng in detail, I will discuss first the daily activities of the santri of Tebuireng in general.

DAILY ACTIVITIES OF THE SANTRI OF TEBUIRENG

To understand the degree of Santri culture practised by students in present-day Tebuireng, I shall now describe the daily activities followed by santri mukim. At four thirty a.m. a reading from the Qur'an is broadcast through a public loudspeaker to awaken the students. They take a bath and an ablution[20]

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[20] In Islam, it is obligatory for every Muslim who wants to perform five daily prayers to begin with ritual purification. Certain kinds of contamination, such as that received from touching a pig or a dog must be washed seven times; that resulting from sexual intercourse must be removed by a complete bath. The prescribed purification for performing prayers is to free oneself of all bodily excretions and to wash the face from forehead to beneath the chin and from ear to ear, the feet, and the arms up to the elbows, and to wet the hair. Several things can invalidate the state of ritual purity necessary for prayers, for example, falling asleep.

before participating in morning prayers held at five a.m. This is followed by the recitation of prayers, dhikir and istighothah[21] for about fifteen minutes. These prayers are commonly practised by members of Sufi brotherhoods :

> Praise belongs to God, the Lord of all Being,
> Forgive me God, You who are magnificent, who is no God but The Alive and The Self-Subsisting and I ask forgiveness from You (three times).
>
> There is no God but Allāh, The Unique who has no partner or equal, who governs the Law, and Praise only belongs to Him, the Lord of all Being.
>
> Bring me, O God, peace, and only from You peace, and Peace is returned to You, and give me life full of Peace, and take me to the Heaven, your house of Peace, You bless me, O God, the Lord of Majesty and Bounty.
>
> Praise belongs to Allāh, the Lord of all Being (thirty three times)
> Allah the Great (thirty three times)
> Forgive me God, You who are magnificent (thirty three times)
> There is no God but Allāh (one hundred times)

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[21] Dhikir istighothah is a dhikir that mentions some of the Ninety-Nine Names of Allāh. Islamic scholars have related that Allah has three thousand Names. One thousand are only known by angels, 1,000 known only by prophets, 300 are in the Torah (Old Testament), 300 are in Zabur (Psalms of David), 300 are in the New Testament, and 99 are in the Qur'an. One should memorize the 99 Names for one's own benefit. God said : "Ask from Me through mentioning My names". According to the Sufi belief (Shems Friedlander and Al-Hajj Shaikh Muzaffereddin 1968 : 15-16) remembering the names of Allah is a key to the secrets of life. When you remember Him and recite His Names standing up, He will remember you when you stand up from your grave. When you ask His forgiveness He will forgive. Allah gives to all because He is Rahman (The Beneficent). Not to forget, one has to remember continuously. Mention His Name over that which you eat. If you wish to be near Him become the slave to His slave.

This is ended by a doa (prayer) read by the Kyai, and the students pronounce "amin" (May it be so).

Between five-thirty and six-thirty a.m. there are bandongan classes on either elementary, intermediate or advanced religious texts. Between seven and half past eleven a.m. students of Madrasah Ibtidaiyyah, Sekolah Persiapan Thanawiyah, Madrasah Thanawiyah and Madrasah ʿAliyah, go to their classes, while students of Hāshim Ashʿāri University attend bandongan classes. The library is open between seven and 11.30 a.m. for those who are not engaged in these activities.

At 12.30 p.m., the midday prayer is offered and this is also followed by fifteen minutes of dhikir, istighothah and doa. Between 1.00 and 6.00 p.m. students of SMP, SMA and Hashim Ash'ari University go to their classes. Afternoon library is open between two and four p.m. At four p.m. ʿasar (afternoon prayer) is offered, followed by dhikir, istighothah and doa. Some bandongan classes are offered on elementary and intermediate texts for those who do not go to SMP, SMA and university. At about 6 p.m. before the maghrib (sunset prayer) the santri chant the following prayer :

> Forgive me, O Allah, the Lord who creates all things in proportion,
> Forgive me, O Allah, all my sins (misconduct)
> Give me profitable knowledge,
> And uplift me by blessing me with good conduct.

At 6.15 p.m. maghrib prayer is offered, followed by dhikir, istighothah and doa. After maghrib prayer,

bandongan classes are offered. At 7.30 p.m. ʿisha' (night prayer) is offered followed by dhikir, istighothah and doa. Between 8 and 9 p.m. bandongan classes are offered. Those who do not attend bandongan classes have to be engaged in study groups which are organized according to the subjects prescribed weekly by the pesantren authority. Between 9 and 10 p.m. there are no prescribed activities.[22] Between 10 p.m. and six a.m. no students are allowed to leave the complex. The two gates are closed and are guarded by about ten students.[23] Discipline is strictly imposed on the santri, and those who are disobedient have their heads shaved for first and second offences. Students who transgress for a third time are expelled.

The daily activities described above are imposed on Saturdays, Sundays, Mondays, Wednesdays and Thursdays. Fridays and Tuesdays are free days, except that the students must participate in the five

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22 The students have a short break between 6.30 and 7 a.m., 12 and 12.30 p.m. and between 9 and 10 p.m. to eat. During the day on Fridays and Tuesdays, except for the five daily prayers, students are free to relax.

23 According to the pesantren regulation article 2-11, no students are allowed to leave the complex between 8 p.m. and 6 a.m. Article 1-6 obliges the students to go to bed at 10.30 p.m. and wake up at 4.30 a.m. Such regulations are generally imposed by the Kyai on their students as an expression of the Kyai's responsibility to look after their santri as if the santri were the Kyai's own children. In fact, most santri, who arrive in a pesantren for the first time, are usually accompanied by their fathers or older brothers who formally transfer their parental authority to the Kyai.

obligatory prayers and in jam'iyyah[24] held between 8 and 12 p.m.

MADRASAH IBTIDAIYYAH

There were eighty eight Madrasah Ibtidaiyyah students in 1978 aged between ten and fifteen years[25] who attended classes from Grade IV to Grade VI. There has been no enrolment of new students in this madrasah, and it will be abolished when the last students finish their sixth grade. Ten years previously, the students of this madrasah represented forty-one percent of the total student body (772 out of 1,687, Husny Thamrin 1969 : 139). This change is also an indication of the efforts for Tebuireng to regain its earlier status as an institute of higher learning. The madrasah teaches Arabic and religious subjects (eighty percent), Indonesian, mathematics, history and geography (twenty percent).

SEKOLAH PERSIAPAN THANAWIYAH

Students of Sekolah Persiapan Thanawiyah numbered 220 in 1978, aged between thirteen and seventeen. This school is provided for graduates of government

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24 See further discussion on the practice of jam'iyyah on page 198 ff.

25 Since there were no students in Grade I, II and III at the Madrasah Ibtidaiyyah, there were no santri younger than 10 years old in this pesantren.

secular schools (SD, SMP, SMA, SMEP, SMEA, STM, etc) who want to study religious subjects at high-school level. The school offers a two-year course of study in Arabic and religious subjects, and upon graduation the students are admitted to continue their studies at Madrasah Thanawiyah. It is interesting to note here that, although Tebuireng has offered SMP and SMA, many graduates of SD and SMP choose to sacrifice two years to study at Sekolah Persiapan Thanawiyah in order to concentrate solely on religious subjects. They spend eight more years at Madrasah Thanawiyah and ʿAliyah before they continue their university studies. This choice indicates that there are still many students with elementary and secondary training in secular subjects who change to the study of religious subjects in order to adopt the teaching of religion as a profession. My assumption regarding these data is that, in some places or communities in Indonesia particularly in Java, graduates of Madrasah Thanawiyah and ʿAliyah are more respected than graduates of SMP and SMA. This suggests that religion is still an important social force for increasing social status.

MADRASAH THANAWIYAH AND ʿALIYAH

Students of Madrasah Thanawiyah numbered 352 in 1978 and studied Arabic and religious subjects

(seventy percent), Indonesian, history, geography, mathematics and natural science (thirty percent).

Students of Madrasah ʿAliyah numbered 291 in 1978 and the proportions of their curriculum are similar to Madrasah Thanawiyah.

The position of Madrasah Thanawiyah and ʿAliyah in modern Tebuireng is crucial. Since 1971 the Department of Religious Affairs has not been allowed to recruit graduates from the madrasah.[26] The only option for these graduates since 1971 has been to continue their studies at I.A.I.N. This limited option has not satisfied graduates of Madrasah ʿAliyah because most of them expect to be employed as religious teachers at an SD or Madrasah Ibtidaiyyah. In 1975, on condition that Madrasah Thanawiyah and ʿAliyah changed the proportion of secular subjects in its curriculum from thirty percent to seventy percent, the Government offered a new option; graduates were entitled to continue their studies at secular universities if they passed the test. This means that they now have to compete with graduates of SMA who have devoted their full time and energy to secular subjects.

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[26] The Ministry of Religious Affairs is now the second biggest Ministry after the Ministry of Education and Culture. It has about 285,000 employees throughout Indonesia and about 210,000 of them are religious teachers. The employees of the Ministry are mostly madrasah and pesantren graduates. Recruitment from madrasah and pesantren between 1967-1971 numbered about 100,000, an incredible increase in four years.

Tebuireng, however, has not responded to the Government's encouragement to provide a greater percentage of secular subjects for its madrasah. There are many reasons for this. First, Tebuireng has offered SMP and SMA to students who are interested in continuing their studies at secular universities. Second, permitting secular subjects to dominate in the madrasah would mean that the pesantren would lose its original character as a centre for religious learning.[27] Third, there are also problems of teaching staff, which cannot be easily solved, since seventy percent of the staff were trained

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[27] Since Indonesia proclaimed its independence in 1945, the country has adopted a "dual system" of education. In trying to catch up with the West in the field of science and technology, the Indonesian Government has developed a modern type of secular education which is administered by the Ministry of Education and Culture. The government, however, also believes that traditional Islamic education which has been established for many centuries must not be abolished; hence, Islamic education has been recognized and developed alongside the modern type of education. This form of education is administered by the Ministry of Religious Affairs. Students who are enrolled in Islamic educational institutions run by the Ministry of Religious Affairs represent roughly between ten to fifteen percent of the total number of students throughout Indonesia. The government, however, has gradually been trying to abolish this "dual system", for example, by encouraging the Islamic educational institutions to accommodate a greater portion of secular knowledge in their curricula (see the Government Decision, SKB 3 Menteri, i.e. Ministers of Religious Affairs, Interior, and Education and Culture No. 3, dated 24 March 1975 in Mulyanto Sumardi 1978). The Government efforts, however, have been responded very slowly by Muslim traditionalists. This is because of the strength of the ideology of the Kyai in education. The Kyai regard education as primarily designed to uphold and spread Islam (see my article, Dhofier 1980).

as religious teachers. It is true that bandongan classes are still widely offered, but they can only be attended by those students of the madrasah with sufficient knowledge of Arabic. If the proportion of Arabic and religious subjects in the madrasah were reduced to only thirty percent, this would subsequently reduce the participation in bandongan classes. The end result would be that Pesantren Tebuireng would become a predominantly secular educational institution.[28]

SEKOLAH MENENGAH PERTAMA AND SEKOLAH MENENGAH ATAS

In 1978 there were 619 SMP and SMA (353 and 266 respectively) students. This is a great increase from 1975 when the two schools were first established as seen in the following table :

Table VI

Number of students at SMP and SMA Tebuireng at four points in time

		1975	1976	1977	1978
SMP	Male	99	92	164	254
	Female	8	24	57	99
SMA	Male	42	71	103	230
	Female	1	2	10	36
Total		150	189	334	619

Source : Tebuireng, op. cit., p. 25

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28 I cannot be certain about the direction these tendencies will follow in future. It would be unsafe for me to go further than what I have stated here.

The schools provide curricula which are exactly similar to the government SMP and SMA. Most students (sixty one percent) were from surrounding villages which did not take part in the religious activities of the pesantren. In July 1978 it was decided, therefore, that the students had to attend a special religious class in the morning (four hours a week). The relatively smaller percentage of santri mukim who enrolled in the SMP and SMA indicates that parents from other regions still regard Pesantren Tebuireng as a religious educational institution which trains religious teachers. This is an illustration : An SMP graduate from Rembang, Central Java asked my advice on a personal problem. Upon his graduation from SMP in Rembang in 1974, his father sent him to Tebuireng to continue his religious studies. He, however, attended SMA Wahid Hashim and continued his studies at Hashim Ash'ari University upon his completion of SMA. Whenever he went home for holidays, however, he suffered psychologically since people in his village regarded him as well-trained in religious subjects.[29]

The educational programme of Tebuireng is still making tentative steps in reorganizing itself as an Islamic institution aiming at the maintenance and spread of the Islamic faith among the Javanese.

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[19] Source : Personal conversation on 23 March 1978.

BANDONGAN CLASSES

During the 1978 academic year, 69 classical Arabic texts (60 elementary and intermediate texts and only 9 advanced texts)[30] were taught in bandongan classes between October 1977 and August 1978, and sixty percent of them were discussed twice. It seems that the number of elementary and intermediate texts taught in present-day Tebuireng has not decreased but the frequency of discussion has declined considerably. In the past, most of these texts were taught six to ten times every year so that most santri studied some texts four to six times before they advanced to studying different and more difficult texts. Frequent repetition was important not only in making the students familiar with the language (vocabulary, morphology and the syntax) but also in deepening their religious perception, especially when studying texts on the hadith, ethics and Sufism which stress the refinement of morals, the inculcation of students' devotion to Islamic knowledge, and the propagation of virtues.

The teaching of advanced texts in present-day Tebuireng is very limited (see Appendix II). This is because of the unavailability of qualified readers.[31]

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[30] See Appendix II.

[31] The idea of a "reader" within pesantren tradition is not simply someone who "reads" the text, but rather someone who gives his own interpretation : both on the content and the language of the text. So readers must be qualified in Arabic grammar and literature and other branches of religious knowledge.

The present main Kyai, Kyai Syamsuri Badawi, who is in his mid-fifties, had not completed the mushawarah class when Hadratus-Shaikh died in 1947.[32] Moreover even the reading of this limited number of advanced texts is inefficient since the time devoted to them is so short (only about five to eight hours a week for each text) that it takes more than two years to finish one text. It seems that the present system does not encourage students to consult the opinions of other great ulama, as was the practice in the time of Hadratus-Shaikh. The greater number of elementary and intermediate texts taught in the pesantren, however, shows the continuation of the pesantren tradition, even

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[32] Yusuf Hashim, the present Director of Tebuireng, is not a religious scholar and does not teach students at all. There are now four Kyai, Kyai Adlan ʿAli, Kyai Sobari, Kyai Syamsuri Badawi and Kyai Manan, assisted by twenty ustad who are responsible for the teaching of the 69 texts. Kyai Adlan ʿAli, who is now in his mid-seventies, is also the murshid (leader) of the influential Tarekat Qadiriyah wa'l-Naqshabandiyah, and concurrently the Director of Pesantren Cukir and a member of DPRD Kabupaten Jombang, Head Shuriah of Nahdatul ʿUlamā' of Jombang Branch, and finally a member of Shuriah Nahdatul ʿUlamā' of East Java. Only occasionally, Kyai Adlan ʿAli leads the Friday sermons in Tebuireng, and he is so busy that he can only spend a month, the month of Ramadan, teaching Tebuireng students. Kyai Sobari (who is now in his sixties) and Kyai Manan (who is now in his fifties) live about nine kilometres from Tebuireng. Both are part-time Kyai who can only devote five hours a week to teaching advanced texts. Kyai Syamsuri lives beside the pesantren complex and leads the daily religious activities of the pesantren, including the performances of the five daily obligatory prayers. Moreover, Kyai Syamsuri is also the Dean of the Fakultas Tarbiyah (Faculty of Religious Education) and a member of DPRD Kabupaten Jombang. He, too, has only a limited amount of time to devote to teaching of advanced texts.

though at the same time Tebuireng has undergone some fundamental changes in its system and orientation.

MADRASAH AL-HUFFĀZ

The establishment of the Madrasah al-Huffāẓ in Tebuireng in 1971 is particularly interesting because, at the same time as Tebuireng has adjusted some of its institutions to meet a new situation by establishing SMP, SMA and Hāshim Ashʿari University, it also has maintained the Islamic traditions as expressed in its al-Huffaz system. The Qur'an is the holy-scripture of the Muslims; it is the words of God. Every Muslim is expected to read the Qur'an and be faithful to its teachings. It is meritorious to read the Qur'an. Throughout the Islamic World, there has developed the art of reading the Qur'an (seni baca al-Qur'an). In Indonesia and Malaysia, there is a Musābaqah Tilāwatil Qur'an (Competition of Reading the Qur'an) organized yearly. The musābaqah has become a big event in both countries and the national governments are involved in its organization. There has also been a tradition of memorizing the whole Qur'an established since the time of the Prophet Muhammad. In fact, the compilation of the written version of the Qur'an during the reign of the Caliphate of ʿUthman (644-656 A.D.) was due to the loss of a large number of those who knew the whole Qur'an by heart who were killed in the successive wars launched by the Arabs following the death of Prophet Muhammad. There is a traditional

belief among the Javanese Muslims that a person who knew the whole Qur'an by heart is always looked after by God. There is also a belief that Qur'anic chanting done by those who know the whole Qur'an by heart is more blessed by God.

Madrasah al-Huffāz offers a six-year course based on this important Islamic tradition. Candidates must be able to read the Qur'an fluently and have mastered the standard tajwid. Students are required to have memorized the Qur'an by the end of the third year. Apart from Arabic and religious subjects they are also taught English. These students are exempt from paying fees and boarding expenses; there were 96 students in 1978 and 35 graduates. The twenty teachers, all of whom have memorized the whole Qur'an, are provided with food and board, but no salaries. From my interview with the students, many were frequently invited by wealthy families and Islamic organisations of surrounding villages to chant the Qur'an whenever these families and organizations arranged life-cycle ceremonies or regular pengajian. These families and organizations always gave them sufficient presents and money to cover their living expenses.[33]

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[33] It is customary in Java that during the celebrations on a birth-day, circumcision, marriage and Islamic holidays, such as maulud Nabi (the birthday of the Prophet Muhammad), Nuzulul Qur'an (the first day of the revelation of the Qur'an), Isra' Mi'raj (the Ascension of the Prophet Muhammad), etc., Qur'anic chanting is done by a qualified performer. By his Qur'anic chanting, it is expected that God will bless the celebration.

HASHIM ASHʿARI UNIVERSITY

Although it provided elementary and intermediate training in Arabic texts, Tebuireng was intended by its leaders from its foundation to provide higher learning of classical Arabic works in dogmatic theology, Sufism, and jurisprudence for the defence of the traditional Islamic faith. The discontinuation of the mushawarah class upon the death of Hadratus-Shaikh in 1947, however, interrupted this fundamental aim. Twenty years later, this aim was renewed with the establishment of Hashim Ashʿari University, in which higher studies were reorganized into three faculties - Islamic Law, Religious Education and Religious Propagation. Although students are only enrolled at the undergraduate level, it is, however, a far from-negligible step in the modernization of method and the organization of higher religious learning. No university, of course, can rise above the level of its teachers. Virtually current lecturers are Kyai Idris' students who later took two years of further advanced courses at I.A.I.N. for their Master's degree (sarjana or doctorandus), and are therefore experienced and well-trained for their responsibilities.

What is the ideological background of the Hashim Ashʿari University and how does it distinguish from other universities? As it is written in the statute-

book of the university, Hashim Ash'ari University aims at providing university studies. It is expected that the university should become the centre of higher learning. It aims at training Muslim scholars who are "berakhlaq tinggi" (of honest character), have a good personality, are knowledgeable, are always conscious of their (religious) responsibilities to God and always concerned with improving the welfare of the Indonesian community, materially and spiritually. It is also expected that the university will continue the fundamental aim of the pesantren tradition to train young Muslims so that they possess deeper religious, as well as secular, knowledge.

There are also some more practical aims imposed by the university. The founders of the university are aware that there are many graduates of Madrasah 'Aliyah and other Senior High Schools who cannot continue their university studies due to the limited number of existing universities capable of taking these interested graduates. Moreover, most universities are established in big cities where living expenses are too high for rural parents to send their children for study. Hashim Ash'ari University founded in Tebuireng village therefore offers university studies to these less advantaged young villagers (Tebuireng 1978 : 26-27).

The university has attracted many students. Starting with forty-nine students in 1967, the number rose to 506 in 1978. The increasing enrolment shows that Tebuireng is expected by the Muslim traditionalists to regain and develop its status as a centre for higher Islamic learning, and this expectation is deeply felt by the Director of the pesantren.[34] As anticipated by the pesantren leaders, Hāshim Ashʿari University in Tebuireng is an appropriate university for rural villagers who cannot afford to send their sons and daughters to universities in large cities. There is also a cultural aspect : Tebuireng graduates are perfectly acceptable to traditional Muslim leaders, who contrast them with the "Westernised" modern intellectuals. They are brought up in the atmosphere of the mosque and filled with general as well as religious knowledge; they have the spirit of the pesantren and they do not create a cultural split with their parents.[35]

JAMʿIYYAH

Jamʿiyyah provides practical training for the santri in organizational activities, in which they

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[34] He has been keenly interested in finding a better teaching staff, and I was myself offered the highest post in this university while I was in the field.

[35] For example, in their parents' homes they do not introduce pop music or "modern" manners which hurt the feelings of their parents.

learn : (1) how to form an organization, (2) how to develop it, (3) how to recruit and control its members, (4) how to form a broader organisational structure in relation with other groups, and (5) (probably the most important one) how to become a good religious leader.

The training is highly effective, not because it is given by an authoritative lecturer in theoretical method, but because of its practical nature. The santri are trained : (1) to form real organisations, (2) to practise organisational activities once every fortnight, and (3) to develop qualities of leadership. Let me describe the activities of Keluarga Santri Indonesia Semarang (KESIS = Semarang Santri's Association) which I observed on 15 June 1978, as an illustration of the points I have made. The meeting on 15 June 1978, was called Malam Reformasi or Malam Pemilihan Pengurus Baru KESIS Periode 1978-1979 (The Night Meeting for the Election of the New Executive Committee). The meeting started at 8 p.m. and was attended by 60 members, all

students who came from Semarang Regency. The list of the names and addresses of the 60 members showed that 30 came from the Kendal district, 9 from the Semarang district, 8 from the Demak district, 6 from the Pati district, 3 from the Kudus district, 2 from

Jepara, and 2 from Blora. Before the election of the new committee was held, the President of the Association of the 1977-1978 academic year submitted the annual report. He then distributed the written regulations for the election of the new executive committee, decided on by the Executive Committee of the 1977-1978 academic year in its meeting on 14 June 1978. The regulations were as follows : (1) Every member of the Association had the right to vote; (2) Every member was eligible for the position as the President of the Association; (3) A member became a candidate for presidency if he was proposed by four members of the Association; (4) A proposed candidate was not allowed to refuse to be a candidate; (5) Candidates for the presidency were not allowed to vote; (6) The general election was solely to elect the president of the Association; (7) The elected president had the right to appoint members of the Executive Committee which was to consist of : (a) a Vice President, (b) a Secretary and his Assistant, (c) Treasurer and his Assistant, (d) Heads of Departments for : Education, Security, Public Relations, Social Welfare, Sports, Information, Culture and Equipment. Three candidates were proposed at this meeting, one from Kendal, one from Semarang, and one from Pati. Each candidate gave a ten minute speech to describe his programme if he

were elected as president. It is interesting to note that the candidate from the Semarang District "reminded" the voters to consider the potential leadership of each candidate rather than their allegiance to a candidate from a particular district. His campaign did not, however, work. Muhammad Qomari, the candidate from Kendal was elected as the President of the Association of the 1978-1979 academic year. As in the previous year, the Executive Committee was dominated by members from Kendal.

All santri mukim are members of both a residential section and a regional section. A residential section is a flat consisting of some rooms, where a group of students live and form their particular residential club. As is shown in the Map of the Tebuireng Complex, the students' dormitories consist of fourteen flats. Members of a resident club come from different provinces because the pesantren imposes a policy which disperses students from a particular district to live in various flats. A regional section is an association of students who come from a same region. Every student has thus a double membership. For example : a newcomer from Bandung will automatically become a member of Himpunan Santri Pasundan (Pasundan Santri's Club); he will also stay

in a particular flat where he will become a member of the residential club formed by the residents of the flat.

There are fifteen regional clubs, and fourteen residential clubs (see the following tables), and each holds a training session once a fortnight between 8 and 12 p.m. The agenda of the jam'iyyah is usually as follows : (1) an introduction given by the President of the Executive Committee; (2) collective reading of dhibak (biography of Prophet Muhammad); (3) collective reading of tahlil (a set of traditional Muslim rituals, customarily performed in connection with the Javanese life cycle ceremonies; (4) a competition in reading and translating kitab, participated in by seven santri; (5) a competition in public speaking (perlombaan pidato) attended by ten junior santri; (6) training in giving sambutan (a public speech given by a distinguished guest) which is usually delivered by three senior santri; and finally (7) a fatwa (general comments and advice) given by a teacher. On three special occasions (the Prophet's birthday ceremony, the Prophet's accension to Heaven ceremony, and the inauguration of the newly elected members of the Executive Committee), each regional club invites a distinguished guest speaker, such as a well-known preacher from Surabaya or Malang, to give the fatwa. Before

Table VII

List and number of members of the residential and regional clubs

Residential	Members	Regional	Members
A	98	Madura	59
B	98	Malang	96
C	105	Banyuwangi	39
D	106	Surabaya & Bojonegoro	225
E	72	Kediri & Madiun	81
F	97	Jember & Bondowoso	40
G	86	Tegal	70
H	55	Pekalongan	65
I	73	Semarang	60
J	105	Kebumen	66
K	87	Pasundan	120
M	101	Jakarta	265
N	131	Cirebon	65
P	10	Outside Java & Madura	85
Huffaz	96		
Total : 15	1,320*	14	1,336*

Source : My field data from the Clubs

Note * : Some 30 students did not live in residential flats but with Kyai families whose houses are located close to the pesantren. Some 14 students are missing from the lists of the regional clubs and I could not do a proper check on these students.

the closing of the jam'iyyah, the agenda of the next jam'iyyah is set out and santri who must participate in the next competitions and give sambutan are named. The President of the executive committee is responsible for approaching a distinguished speaker to give a fatwa.

Participation in the Jam'iyyah, its competitions and sambutan is compulsory.[36] Members of the executive committee are elected every year, and the elected president is not allowed to hold the post for more than one year. In this way almost all santri are well-trained in giving public speeches and other organizational skills, and many of them have the opportunity to practise leadership. Santri enjoy freedom of expression in making speeches. They are even allowed and encouraged to criticise the Director and the Kyai so long as the criticism is fair. Once I heard a speaker criticize the Director for not expelling three santri who had broken the pesantren's rules three times. These santri were students at the SMA Wahid Hashim. In July 1978 they were expelled from Tebuireng complex by

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[36] The training is quite formally organized. Formal letters are sent to the participants of the competitions and sambutan. Microphones are readily provided so that more listeners are reached. The listeners are highly critical. Bad speakers will be strongly criticised right away, and are even sometimes instructed to stop : "turun panggung lu" ("get down from the podium"). A newly arrived santri is encouraged just to say "hello" or just introduce himself if he is still afraid to speak in public.

Majlis al-Tarbiyah wal-Ta'lim (Students' Council for Education), but still allowed to continue their studies at SMA since the Chairman of the SMA considered them intelligent and well-behaved, and they did not live within the pesantren complex anymore. The Chairman of the SMA was an influential man who was concurrently a lecturer at Hāshim Ash'ari University, and he defended his decision on the grounds that the final examination was approaching and it was impossible for them to move to another SMA. Expelling them at this particular time meant that they would lose the chance of taking the final government exams in 1978. The Director accepted this reason, but most santri argued that the three of them had to be expelled also from the SMA. Almost all speakers in the July and August jam'iyyah strongly attacked the Chairman of the SMA and the Director. Finally in a meeting of the pesantren staff on 24 August 1978, led by the Director, it was decided that the three students had to be expelled from the SMA.[37]

In one of Kyai Syamsuri's Friday sermons, he suggested that the santri follow faithfully the teachings of the Kyai, but only so long as the Kyai were faithful to God. He quoted a teaching in Ta'lim al-Muta'alim (Guidance for the Students) : "Do not be faithful to a man who deviates from the way of Allah". He, then, cited the example of the practice of the

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[37] Source : Personal participation in the jam'iyyah.

Prophet whereby a makmum (a follower of an obligatory prayer) had to remind his imam (leader) of the prayer by saying "subhānallah" whenever the imam made a mistake in leading the prayer.

These data speak well for democracy within the pesantren tradition, something that may seem contrary to Javanese values, although it may not say much for the students' maturity or wisdom. According to Javanese values, students' faithfulness to their teachers is absolute regardless of the teachings of the teachers. The Dewaruci, a Javanese primbon speaks well for this Javanese virtue insisting on Bhima's absolute obedience to his guru as a master of esoteric wisdom.[38]

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[38] In his efforts to master esoteric wisdom, Bhima studies at the feet of the treacherous cleric Druna, who, while pretending to be his spritual father, is in fact bent on destroying him. With Bhima dead, the most formidable of the Pandawas will be eliminated, and the chances of a Kurawa victory in the war increased. Druna then, in his capacity as Bhima's spritual preceptor, orders him to seek the mysterious water of life. He, Druna, misdirects Bhima, telling him that it is to be found in a cavern in a huge mountain. The mountain however is inhabited by two ferocious ogres, and it is Druna's design that they shall kill Bhima. Bhima however destroys the two ogres and they revert to their beneficent forms as the gods Indra and Bayu. From them he learns that the water is not to be found at the mountain and that he is to return to Druna for fresh instructions. On Bhima's return, Druna tells him that this fruitless journey was only intended to test his faithfulness to his teacher. He then tells Bhima that the secret water is hidden in the depths of the sea. Before departing, Bhima takes leave of his brothers who attempt to restrain him. Bhima, however, disregards their pleadings, and sets out. Having reached the sea he strides in. As he leaves the land far behind him he is attacked by a huge monster which, after a desperate struggle, he slays. He then finds himself face to face with a tiny creature, an exact replica of himself. After a short dialogue, the tiny creature, Dewaruci, orders the immense Bhima to enter his body via his ear. Bhima, at first incredulous and scoffing, at last obeys, finding himself in a vast empty space. There Dewaruci addresses

continued on p.207

Most of the themes of students' speeches in the jam'iyyah were about religion and society, such as : pesantren and community development, religion and science, Islam in the Modern World. Senior santri were encouraged to give Friday sermons in the mosques of surrounding villages and to preach Islam to the villagers as part of jam'iyyah activities. It is understandable, then, that the Pesantren Tebuireng is successful in producing community leaders. The leaders of Pesantren Tebuireng always stress the importance of practical training in this institution. Their motto is : To train students who are berilmu and beramal : who are knowledgeable and teach and practise the knowledge they have received. They argue that ilmu (knowledge) without amal (practice) is like a tree which does not produce fruits. The Kyai and students of Tebuireng are also proud of the practical nature of their training. A former member of the local Parliament and a leading figure of the Executive Committee of Nahḍatul 'Ulamā' in Jombang spoke in a jam'iyyah in Tebuireng about Tebuireng santri and compared them with graduates of secular universities :

> All you santri must be proud of becoming santri in Tebuireng because you are trained to become real leaders of the community. When you finish your study and training in Tebuireng you will not practise something which is new or unfamiliar in the community. Observe how many university graduates feel shy about even saying a word in front of the public. But you

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cont. him, and after giving him certain ethical teaching symbolically represented by apparition of coulours, initiates him into the most secret, esoteric knowledge (Johns 1966-1967: 41-42).

> have had the benefit of being in this community and developing your knowledge and your leadership all the time you have been studying in the pesantren.[39]

The main aims of both regional and resident clubs as set out in their constitutions are : (1) to uphold and spread Islam, and (2) to improve the method, quality and level of Islamic education.

Some regional clubs, such as Himpunan Santri Pasundan, in different pesantren, like Tebuireng, Rejoso, Gontor, etc. have formed a federation to promote cooperation among the santri from the same region who study in different pesantren. Sometimes a federation organizes seminars relevant to the santris' interests. Between 11-13 May 1978, for example, the federation of Keluarga Santri Indonesia Semarang of Tebuireng, Rejoso, Denanyar, Tambakberas, Gontor, Lirboyo, and Ploso organized a seminar on "The Santris' Contributions to Community Development in Central Java", which was held in Pesantren Ploso Kediri, East Java. In the Jamʿiyyah activities then, the santris' awareness of their future role as religious leaders and Islamic preachers is developed.

CONTINUITY AND CHANGE IN PESANTREN TRADITION

For students of Javanese Islam who expect to find a traditionalist and modernist continuum it will

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39 Source : Personal record of the jamʿiyyah of KESIS on 19 June 1978.

be confusing to follow the development of Pesantren Tebuireng as I have described it. The reformation of education initiated by the pesantren was not achieved by omitting the traditional approach and was not necessarily associated with nor was it intended as a reformulation of "outmoded medieval" Islam to make it more acceptable to modern men. Santri mukim who study at the SMP and SMA (thirty nine percent of the total SMP and SMA students) are urged to participate in the daily traditional ritual activities, jamʿiyyah and bandongan classes. Tebuireng yields slowly to change and such changes as have been made affect the organization of studies rather than their spirit and substance. An educational institution based on a tradition of nearly five hundred years[40] and standing as the guardian and the authoritative exponent of the pesantren system and Islamic traditionalism cannot easily trim its sails to every passing wind. Yet change has been introduced, but not without opposition from some ʿulamā', who have only gradually accepted changes, some more slowly and reluctantly than others.

Not all pesantren, of course, have undergone the same changes. Within the pesantren tradition, there

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[40] The Babad Demak suggests that pesantren began to be developed in Java at the end of the fifteenth century (Atmodarminto 1955). Tebuireng was established in 1899 but is tied strongly to pesantren tradition.

has been a rift between those who teach secular subjects and those who do not. Although this rift has not created different socio-religious groupings and is still kept within the confines of the common membership in Ahlissunnah wa'l-jamā'ah (followers of the Prophet and 'ulamā' tradition), it has created differences in some areas of social and intellectual activity, in manner of dress, living, social habits, entertainment and professional aspirations. However it would be a rash to try either to forecast future directions at the present time or to deny that further and more fundamental rifts may occur.

It is important for us to realize that, in striving to become a more modernized Islamic educational institution, Tebuireng has not created a gulf between traditionalism and modernism; it has not set out to reformulate the Islamic principles and doctrines. In this way, Tebuireng does not have to discard either the great body of learned tradition nor the practices of the masses. Thus Tebuireng's influence is maintained among traditionalist Muslims within the ranks of the professional men of religion.

The introduction of secular schools in Tebuireng has done little to disturb the maintenance of traditional Islamic doctrines. It has not even undermined popular Sufism. Paradoxically, since early 1978 Tebuireng has become the centre of a powerful tarekat for East Java. This is not to deny that the

secularization of thought and the replacement of an otherworldly outlook by a this-worldly one has not gone far in Tebuireng. It would, however, be absurd to regard secularism as a purely Western importation into the pesantren world. As Professor Gibb has argued :

> In every developed civilization, including the medieval Islamic civilization, secularism is to be found in a greater or less degree, whether open or concealed. Indeed, the ulama themselves have contributed to the spread of secularism, for in the Muslim world it was mainly by the influence of the Sufi orders that the tendency to worldliness among the educated classes was counteracted; and in weakening that influence the ulama have not succeeded in putting any other religious influence in its place, except to the extent that they have co-operated in the new religious societies, ... (Gibb 1947 : 50-51).

Most students of Javanese Islam have been preoccupied with modernism, exaggerating its extent and importance and underrating the strength and influence of conservative Islam. The dominant strength of the conservative ideology of the Javanese Kyai has limited the extent of modernism introduced by Tebuireng; the great body of the Kyai keeps a sharp watch on Tebuireng activities and is ready to check it as soon as it appears to go beyond an accepted range. The departure of Kyai Idris to live in Saudi Arabia in 1973 was

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[41] The influence of the modernist ideology in Java, which began in the early 1910's, is still confined mostly to educated urban Muslims. In other words, conservative Islam is still dominant in rural areas of Central and East Java.

indirectly due to his protest against the introduction of co-education at Hāshim Ash'ari University in Tebuireng.

The introduction of the secular school system in the pesantren has also aroused some criticism. On 23 June 1978, in his Friday sermon, Musta'in, an ustadh of Pesantren Tebuireng attacked the top policy makers of the pesantren for their introduction of SMP and SMA by arguing that the only appropriate knowledge which should be developed by the pesantren was religious knowledge. He elaborated further :

> "Do not destroy the pesantren tradition by changing it into a secular educational institution which trains engineers, lawyers, doctors, etc. It is our pesantren tradition in training 'ulamā' that should be persistently maintained. I believe if Hadratus-Shaikh Hāshim Ash'ari were still alive, he would condemn the recent development in the pesantren. Tebuireng has deviated too far from our tradition ...".[42]

In the evening of the same day, Kyai Syamsuri, the main Kyai of Pesantren Tebuireng, was giving a fatwa at the inauguration of the Executive Committee of Himpunan Santri Pasundan, in which he strongly criticized Ustadh Musta'in's attack by stating that Ustadh Musta'in did not understand the essence of pesantren :

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[42] Source : Personal record of the sermon.

"... all of you santri should know first of all : the pesantren is a worldly affair masalah pesantren adalah masalah dunia . We must organize our worldly affairs as correctly and as up-to-date as possible. Do not attack on a narrow basis. For more than five hundred years pesantren tradition has produced and trained highly qualified community leaders; only if we understand the real requirements of the people can we maintain our pesantren's role as an educational institution which trains community leaders. It is our intention that this pesantren should produce SMA graduates who can continue their studies as engineers, doctors, lawyers, soldiers, etc., who are faithful to Islam. Our conduct will be judged by God according to our niat (inner intention). If our niat is good, Allah will give us a reward. On the contrary, if our niat is bad, Allah will punish us ...".

Kyai Syamsuri quoted a passage written in Ta'lim al-Muta'allim (Zarnuji 1963 : 29-30) :

"There is much human conduct which appears to be concerned only with worldly matters. But because of its good niat, it is accepted by Allah as amal akherat (religious conduct). And there is much human conduct which appears to be concerned with life in the Hereafter, but because of its bad niat, it is not entitled to divine reward".

Kyai Syamsuri explained further :

"Suppose you are a master in reading the Qur'an. You can memorize the whole Qur'an without looking at the text. But if you chant the Qur'an in front of the public because you expect to get a material reward, then you are no different than an employee of a factory".

"Our intention is good; we are now training students to master secular and religious subjects so that they are eligible to continue their studies in government universities, but at the same time they are qualified to read classical Islamic texts and are imbued with a strong calling to preach Islam to other people. These students, when they finish their studies at

universities and then take important posts either in the government bureaucracy or private business, will become good leaders because they are Islamic and perform their leadership in the Islamic way of life. Is not this good?".

"Of course we do not neglect our duty to train students to become qualified ulama. That is why we do not eliminate the teaching of religious texts. Tebuireng provides you with extensive bandongan classes : in the morning, afternoon and at night. Please all of you santri, do not forget to participate in the bandongan classes. You are sent here by your parents because they want you to become learned religious persons. If you neglect this duty, you had better go home".[43]

This response by Kyai Syamsuri to criticism of Tebuireng policy, in which he joined elements both traditional and modern, is typical of Tebuireng. When many Kyai came to Tebuireng to protest against the introduction of co-education, Yusuf Hashim, the Director, convinced the Kyai :

"Please forgive me my beloved Kyai. It is not my intention to break shari'ah (Islamic law). I sincerely believe that Islam prohibits free intercourse between males and females; and I promise that my students will not be engaged in free interaction. Co-education does not mean that they are allowed to mix freely. But we must not close our eyes to the fact that our community does not segregate males and females. In our community males and females mix with each other; so it is not understandable to segregate them in our educational system. It is better to provide them with a better atmosphere for social gatherings between males and females within an educational framework. It is our duty to educate the younger generation not to break shari'ah. We must tell them not to mix freely without purpose. It is only for good and fruitful purposes that they are

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43 Source : Personal record of Kyai Syamsuri's speech on 23 June 1978.

> allowed to mix. It is worse to let them mix freely in social life but segregate them at schools, which means to let them become hypocrites. We have to choose a better path between two evils. And this is shariʿah too".[44]

It is interesting to note here that the arguments put forward by Kyai Syamsuri and Yusuf Hashim are practical, straightforward and imaginative and define their positions clearly.

They support their arguments by quoting the available traditional sources. To defend their positions, they do not have to go too far in re-examining the foundations of belief. This is not to say that they are free from outside stimuli but, as Professor Gibb has suggested,

> When ... social strains develop on a general scale within Islam by the forces of internal evolution, they will find their own appropriate solutions. These solutions will not necessarily coincide with our Western solutions but will be based on the proved experience and needs of the Muslim peoples. And we may be sure that the principles applied to their solution will be practical and realistic ... (Gibb 1947 : 105).

These descriptions and arguments concerning the internal evolution of Pesantren Tebuireng provide a glimpse of the transformation of traditional Islam amidst profound changes in the social, cultural, economic and political life of the Javanese. My point, however, is that this is not simply a problem of cultural

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[44] Source : Personal record of Yusuf Hashim's speech on 28 April 1978.

adaptation. The Javanese Kyai are not simply cultural brokers who represent either a Middle Eastern orientation or metropolitan culture of the Indonesian cities as Geertz has argued (Geertz 1957). The Kyai are creative cultural makers whose contributions have contributed to distinctive Indonesian culture. General Alamsyah, the Minister of Religious Affairs, in his speech in Tebuireng on 27 April 1978 confirmed that the Pancasila (Five Principles)[45] was not an individual product of Soekarno, the first President of the Republic of Indonesia. Kyai Wahid Hashim of Tebuireng, as one of the nine members of the Subcommittee of the BPKI, contributed to the formulation of the Preamble to the Indonesian Constitution from which the Pancasila derives its sanctity and acceptance.

> Do not forget this fact. Do not let people accuse the Kyai of being anti-Pancasila. Tell them that Kyai Wahid Hashim, the son of Kyai Hashim Ash'ari for whom I hold high respect, was one of the founders of the Republic of Indonesia who created the Pancasila.[46]

Alamsyah's argument certainly needs further clarification which goes beyond the concern of this thesis. The value of his argument, however, does not

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[45] First, the belief in the Onness of God; second humanity; third, nationalism; fourth, democracy, and fifth, social justice. Pancasila is the ideological and political foundation of the Republic of Indonesia.

[46] Source : Personal record of General Alamsyah's speech in Tebuireng on 27 April 1978.

lie in the accuracy of his statement, but on his correction of the mistaken notion which has become fixed in people's minds that the establishment of modern Indonesia was the exclusive creation of particular groups and that the Kyai have always remained peripheral to these developments. The Kyai, represented by Hadratus-Shaikh and Wahid Hashim, were honoured by the Indonesian Government as heroes of National Independence for their service to the Republic during the Independence Struggle against the Dutch between 1945 and 1949. The success of this struggle was partly due to the contribution of local Kyai who mobilized the masses at the grass-roots level to fight against the Dutch. These local Kyai have long been the most effective means by which the Kyai of major pesantren have succeeded in playing their roles as national leaders.

In the next chapter, I will consider a case study of Kyai of minor pesantren.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE KYAI OF MINOR PESANTREN
THE CASE OF PESANTREN TEGALSARI

In the previous chapter I have discussed the internal developments and some of the involvement of the Kyai of a major pesantren in the historical development of Islam in Indonesia. I have also described the daily life of students in a major pesantren : how they are trained, what sort of training they receive and what sort of religious rituals they perform daily. These daily activities are part of the outward expression of Islamic faith developed by the pesantren tradition. This tradition is transmitted to the wider community when the students settle in their own village or elsewhere.[1] Some graduates of major pesantren are successful in establishing themselves as minor Kyai whose role in transmitting the Islamic faith carries on beyond village boundaries. These local Kyai are, then, the most effective means by which the Kyai of major pesantren have succeeded in playing their roles in the maintenance of the traditional ideology of Islam in Java.

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1 Further aspects of Kyai culture and the ideal Kyai ideology are discussed in Chapter VI and VII.

In this chapter I will consider the case of Kyai of Pesantren Tegalsari, a minor pesantren in Salatiga. Comparison will be made with Pesantren Tebuireng to understand the more limited scope of the internal developments of Tegalsari. I will also discuss some of the involvement of the Kyai of Tegalsari in the maintenance and spread of traditional Islam among the Javanese masses at the grass-roots level.

Unlike Tebuireng, Pesantren Tegalsari was established in a remote area far from urban centres and from other pesantren; the people in the Tegalsari area were only barely touched by Islamic faith when the pesantren was established in the 1860's. These factors, however, cannot be regarded as the main reasons for the inability of Tegalsari to develop into a major pesantren. There are many pesantren established in such conditions which succeeded in becoming major pesantren : for example, Pesantren Asembagus in Situbondo, Pesantren Tremas in Pacitan, Pesantren Gontor in Ponorogo, and Pesantren Dār al-Salām Blok Agung in Banyuwangi. Unlike these pesantren, however, Tegalsari is located within the domain of the cultural heartland of the Mataram, and later the Surakarta, courts. These courts had behind them millennia of advanced culture. The response of the people in this area to Islam could offer no one the opportunity for precise definition.

Their elite seemed to enjoy the Sufi doctrine of wahdāt al-wujūd (Unity of Being) of Ibn al-ʿArabī. This was perhaps the result of their being accustomed to a religion based upon a complex pre-Hindu animism infused at higher social levels with the Indic philosophies of Hinduism and Buddhism. As noted by Ricklefs, in such areas

> ... it seems less likely that the peripatetic Muslim trader would have commanded sufficient prestige to convert any but the lower levels of society ... the agent of conversion among the elite may perhaps have been the mystical teachers ... (Ricklefs 1974 : 4).

Students who went to the Muslim teachers were attracted to them for their learning and magical prowess.

> At that time, many Javanese wished to be taught the religion of the Prophet and to learn supernatural powers and invincibility.[2]

Wondrous tales are told of the walis' ability to walk on water, to change rice to sand or, rather more profitably, earth to gold.[3] Their grave sites are considered to be repositories of great spiritual power and are still sites of pilgrimage. This religious sphere seems to have persisted in the Tegalsari area when the Pesantren Tegalsari was established.

Before the establishment of Pesantren Tegalsari, there was one religious teacher, Kyai Pamot, who lived two kilometres to the southeast of

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[2] Babad Tanah Djawi, text, p. 46, quoted from Ricklefs 1974 : 5.

[3] Ibid.

Tegalsari. Although his teaching of Islam must have been quite elementary, he was regarded by the people as a wali (Muslim saint) who possessed incredible supernatural power. The legends relate that he could kill tigers with his hands without being himself hurt. He could also kill flying birds by throwing only one small stone at them. When people wanted to rebuild a broken dam after floods, Kyai Pamot dried up the river so that people could repair the dam without being disturbed by the water. We can sum up by saying that the people's belief in supernatural powers and in a Muslim saint overshadowed their interest in the practical and sharī'ah aspects of Islam.

THE EARLY FOUNDERS OF THE PESANTREN TEGALSARI

Pesantren Tegalsari was established by Kyai Muhammad Rāzi, who was supported by his brother-in-law, Kyai Ali Munawwar. Kyai Muhammad Rāzi was born of a distinguished Kyai family in a village near Klaten, Central Java, during the 1830's. His father, Kyai Imam Rāzi, was the founder of Pesantren Tempursari near Klaten;[4] his nephew, Kyai Idris, was the leader of Pesantren Jamsaren in Surakarta, a major pesantren

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4 The biography of Kyai Imam Rāzi mentions that during the Java War (1825-1830) Kyai Imam Rāzi was appointed by Prince Diponegoro as one of the the four commanders of the Diponegoro army.

in the last quarter of the nineteenth and the first two decades of the twentieth centuries.

Unlike Hadratus-Shaikh of Tebuireng, however, Kyai Muhammad Rāzi was not well educated. He studied the usual subjects of a Muslim student of the time, under his own father. He then settled in Tegalsari, 65 kilometres from Tempursari, after he married Ali Munawwar's sister who came from this village. Born in the late 1830's, Ali Munawwar went to Pesantren Tempursari to further his Islamic studies. During his stay in this pesantren he became a close friend of Muhammad Rāzi, who later became his brother-in-law.[5] The scholarly qualifications of both Muhammad Rāzi and Ali Munawwar were so limited that during the first thirty years after its establishment Pesantren Tegalsari could attract only very few students. Among them were two students from Banyumas, two who came from Klaten, and one who came from Kaliyoso in Surakarta. These students were taken as sons-in-law by Kyai Rāzi and Ali Munawwar, and one, Kyai ʿAbdul Jalīl from Banyumas, became important in the development of the pesantren.

KYAI ʿABDUL JALĪL

Born in Banyumas, ʿAbdul Jalīl came to study under Kyai Rāzi in the middle 1870's. The

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[5] Arranged marriages at this time were quite common in Java.

following accounts give us a picture of how ʿAbdul Jalīl made the decision to study in Tegalsari. His grandson, Kyai Maesur, now the leader of the pesantren, told me that Kyai ʿAbdul Jalīl studied in the Pesantren Jamsaren before he went to Tegalsari. When Kyai Rāzi visited Jamsaren[6] in the middle 1870's, he met ʿAbdul Jalil and asked him to visit Tegalsari. After some visits, ʿAbdul Jalīl decided to spend some time in Tegalsari to study under the instruction of Kyai Rāzi. Kyai Rāzi then married ʿAbdul Jalīl to his first daughter and sent ʿAbdul Jalīl to further his studies in Mecca in the early 1880's. After a four year stay in Mecca, he returned to Tegalsari for some months and then spent another four years in Mecca. The intellectual development of ʿAbdul Jalīl during his eight year stay in Mecca cannot be ascertained. I have described in Chapter III that during this time, many Javanese ʿulamā', such as al-Nawawi and 'Abdul Karim, established themselves as first-class ʿulamā' in Saudi Arabia. In the latter part of the nineteenth century Mecca was flourishing as a cultural and educational centre of

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6 There has been a tradition among the Kyai to visit each other, especially among classmates or roommates who studied in the same pesantren, or who are close relatives. I do not know for sure the relationship between Kyai Rāzi and the Kyai of Jamsaren in the 1870's. Kyai Idris, the well-known Kyai of Jamsaren who died in the 1910's was Kyai Rāzi's nephew, but I do not know whether Kyai Idris had taken up the leadership of Jamsaren in the 1870's.

the Islamic world. This was also the time when Islamic revivalism was developing in the Muslim world in response to the challenge of intensive penetration by the Western world. The Indonesian Jawah community,[7] which was largely composed of Indonesians and to which ʿAbdul Jalīl belonged, showed an increase of its members in Mecca and this reflected the strength of religious revivalism in Indonesia. It seems likely that ʿAbdul Jalīl, during his stay among this Jawah community, gained a sound knowledge not only in Islamic learning but also in organising a pesantren. He was perhaps, aware that since Pesantren Tegalsari was established among nominal Muslims, far from other Islamic centres, this pesantren had to find a way to attract adults to religious learning. His return to Tegalsari after his first four year stay in Mecca must have confirmed this awareness. This is probably why Kyai ʿAbdul Jalīl devoted his second four-year stay in Mecca to studying Sufism. He joined the Tarekat Naqshabandiyyah under the instruction of Shaikh Sulaiman Effendi.[8] He may have learned from his friends

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7 On the Jawah community in Mecca, see Hurgronje (1931).

8 His Central Javanese background probably led ʿAbdul Jalīl to join The Naqshabandiyyah, not the Qādiriyyah which at this time was led by the well-known Shaikh, ʿAbdul Karim. As noted by Kartodirdjo, in Java as a whole in the nineteenth century, the Naqshabandiyyah was the strongest tarekat (Kartodirdjo 1966 : 158). On Shaikh Sulaiman Effendi in Mecca, see Hurgronje 1931, pp. 176, 206, 240 and 241.

in the Jawah community that the best way to develop a pesantren among nominal Muslims was through a tarekat order. His decision to join the Tarekat Naqshabandiyyah and establish a branch of the Tarekat in Tegalsari[9] upon his return from Mecca cannot be understood except as an effort to strengthen the influence of Tegalsari and strengthen the Islamic faith among nominal Muslims in this area. 'Abdul Jalīl was a contemporary of Shaikh Ahmad Khatib of Minangkabau who later became an influential teacher in Mecca and fought against the practices of Tarekat Naqshabandiyyah. He was particularly opposed to the practice of <u>rabitah</u> or <u>tawajjuh</u>, whereby the participants of tarekat orders imagine the face of their Shaikh when they recite the dhikir. Shaikh Khatib regarded <u>rabitah</u> as contrary to Islam (Khatib 1973).[10] 'Abdul Jalīl was probably aware of the criticisms of the practices of his tarekat. But he was also aware that Pesantren Tegalsari could not develop among the nominal Muslims if it concentrated only on teaching the Qur'an and Arabic texts. His eight year stay in Mecca made him aware of the missionary role of the tarekat orders, both in

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9 His grandson, Kyai Maesur, who is now leading the tarekat, told me that 'Abdul Jalīl asked his master's permission to teach in Mecca. The master, however, ordered him to return to Tegalsari for the reason that 'Abdul Jalil's responsibility towards strengthening the faith among nominal Muslims in Java was considered much more important.

10 On Shaikh Khatib, see pages 123-126 in Chapter IV.

commending Islam to non-Muslims and in helping the nominal to take it to their hearts.[11]

Hadratus-Shaikh of Tebuireng did not face a similar problem. He was brought up in an area where many major pesantren had been well established. At that time, tarekat orders had also already developed in Jombang. His own grandfather, Kyai 'Uthman, was a leader of Tarekat Qadiriyyah, which recruited thousands of followers. We can sum up by saying that Hadratus-Shaikh, when he was in Mecca, was occupied by an ambition to become a learned shaikh, while Kyai 'Abdul Jalīl was occupied by a search for an effective and practical means to strengthen the Islamic faith of the nominal Muslims.

It is important to note that many Kyai of minor pesantren, as in the case of Kyai 'Abdul Jalīl, were also trained in Mecca. During their years stay in Saudi Arabia, they were accustomed to the Middle Eastern mentality, and to a different school of thought and religious practices. While they remained Javanese, their traditional view of Islam was not due to the greater content of Javanese elements, but because of their strong ties with established ideas of traditional Islam in the Middle East.

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[11] On the missionary role of the tarekat orders, both in commanding Islam to non-Muslims or nominal Muslims see Trimingham (1971).

THE TAREKAT NAQSHABANDIYYAH IN TEGALSARI

Abdul Jalīl's tarekat, which was established in the late 1880's, began to attract adherents and, within two decades, it included thousands of followers in this region. In general, the participants in the tarekat were, and even in the present-day are, middle-aged people or older. In present-day Tegalsari, women represent more than sixty percent of the total membership. Trimingham suggests that tarekat orders have been the only forms of institutionalised Islam that have been symphathetically open to women (Trimingham 1971 : 232). In the Tegalsari area, until the 1930's, Friday prayers were available only for men and Pesantren Tegalsari has never provided a complex for young girls.

Kyai 'Abdul Jalīl instructed new members to perform suluk[12] for forty days : this involved disciplining themselves by following certain regulations of the order, limiting the kinds and quantity of food, observing a strict division of time, and devoting almost all their time to dhikir[13] and wirid.[14] Public lectures on a general and elementary understanding of Islam were given once a week. The result was very clear : these new members did not break these habits after forty days of intensive performance of the daily prayers.

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[12] See note 19 in Chapter I.

[13] See note 16 in Chapter I.

[14] See note 17 in Chapter I.

After this preliminary conversion, new members commenced the tarekat exercises. From the mouth of the Kyai they learned some simple formulae which they had to utter in the prescribed attitude after one or more of the daily obligatory prayers. Daily, they performed special dhikir under the leadership of the teacher or his assistants. Many went no further than these externals, but when they returned home after forty days of such instruction they had been made by the tarekat into pious Muslims, for they bound themselves to the continuance of the performance of the dhikir and therewith to the performance of their regular prayers without which the dhikir had no blessing.

The Tarekat Naqshabandiyyah in Tegalsari has never provided any written material for its followers. This is quite understandable because the majority of its members are indifferent to reading materials except the Qur'an. The followers of the tarekat, from its foundation until the present-day, are villagers who live close to Tegalsari. They can attend the regular weekly gatherings in Tegalsari to practise communal dhikir and listen to the public lectures given by the Kyai. These weekly gatherings seem to serve two purposes : (1) to remind the members of their daily religious duties, and (2) to maintain the brotherhood among members.

The stress of ʿAbdul Jalīl's teachings was more on acting rather than thinking; thus, not only were heterodox Sufi teachings offered no opening, but the mystical way itself of the tarekat proper was not introduced to these rural Javanese. Speculative mysticism was not taught at all and there was no question of teaching the belief, developed in the Sufi doctrine, of the unity of life (wahdat al-wujūd). The practice of dhikir and wirid was intended to taqarrub (to feel closer) to God, to get His mahabbah (love) and rahmah (mercy), and to show a greater submissiveness to God. Taqarrub is a feeling that God is always close at hand; not as a monster watching over a person's every action, but as a God who is Beneficent and Merciful and who always protects a person from doing forbidden things and guides him to perform ʿamal sāleh (good works).[15]

Many factors contributed to the rapid increase of Kyai ʿAbdul Jalīl's followers : (1) the invitation to women to become members (their positive response is shown by the greater number of female than male members); (2) the stress on ritual practices

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[15] My mother has been a member of the tarekat for almost thirty years. My grandfather, Kyai Muharrar, my mother's father, was one of Kyai 'Abdul Jalīl's badal murshid. Both introduced me to the mystery of tauhid (Islamic theology) as taught by Kyai 'Abdul Jalil. The above accounts, then, are not simply my report as an observer but what my mother and grandfather have taught me about the fundamental theology of Islam they themselves deeply believe in.

rather than on religious knowledge which attracted older people whose religious needs were easily met by the practical guidance of the ritual practices; (3) the personal attraction of Kyai 'Abdul Jalīl;[16] and (4) dhikir meetings, weekly gatherings and meals, and monthly feasts on the so called death-day (haul) of the founder of the tarekat. All these attracted villagers to participate in the religious life of Tegalsari.

The practice of suluk was particularly significant, not only religiously, but also sociologically. The suluk created a religious community centred around the convent[17] whose members interacted intensively thus strengthening the feeling of brotherhood. In economic life, the suluk created a strong feeling of interdependence and cooperation. I was told that yearly feasts on the haul of Shaikh Naqshabandi, on which occasion no less than five cows, forty goats and hundreds of chicken (all of them contributed by wealthy members) were killed, enabled the Kyai to supply needy villagers with meals which further increased Kyai 'Abdul Jalīl's influence and veneration.

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16 I was told that Kyai 'Abdul Jalīl was very keen in visiting his followers who were in grief, either because of illness or the death of their relatives. This behaviour must have been appreciated by the villagers who recognized Kyai 'Abdul Jalīl as a learned man.

17 The convent was divided by a wall into male and female sections.

Kyai ʿAbdul Jalīl's success in leading the Tarekat Naqshabandiyyah enabled him to establish himself as a full religious teacher. He received sufficient economic support from his thousands of tarekat followers who each contributed a small part of their rice production. He was probably the wealthiest man in this area at the turn of the twentieth century as shown in the fact that he could send all six of his sons to study in Mecca;[18] three of whom stayed there between five and eight years.

The Dutch also recognized Kyai ʿAbdul Jalil as possessing considerable influence. This is evident from the appointment of Kyai Muharror, one of Kyai ʿAbdul Jalīl's badal murshid, as the sub-district penghulu who was responsible for administering the marriages of villagers in the twenty three kelurahan. The establishment of the penghulu office in Susukan was a further consequence of the expansion of the Dutch Administration in this area. At the beginning of the 1900's, the Dutch formed the Susukan Sub-District which administered twenty three kelurahan. This administrative expansion was due to the development of coffee plantations in Goli, about four kilometres to the southeast of Tegalsari, and rubber plantations in Plaur, about one kilometre to the northwest of Tegalsari.

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18 The cost of a one way ticket to Mecca at that time was about three hundred guilders.

Kyai ʿAbdul Jalīl's acquiescence in the appointment of his staff to a position in the Dutch Administration is very interesting. This appointment indicates that both the Dutch and Kyai ʿAbdul Jalīl chose to co-operate rather than engage in confrontation. The Tegalsari case, then, does not support the conventional belief that the pesantren leaders during the Dutch colonial rule were in confrontation with the Dutch (cf. Kartodirdjo 1966, 1973).[19]

The co-operation between Tegalsari and the Dutch however, did not develop into a firm alliance since both sides did not share common aims. The Dutch actions were partly the result of Snouck Hurgronje's advice not to suppress the religious activities of the people so long as religion was not manipulated to create political hostility against the Dutch.

ʿAbdul Jalīl's avoidance of conflict with the Dutch was not an indication of his submission to the colonial authority. This independence was shown in his refusal to accept the Dutch offer to designate

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19 My impression in reading Kartodirdjo's works is that he stresses too much the political role of pesantren in protest movements in rural Java. While I agree that the pesantren strongly disapproved of Dutch authority, the political role played by the pesantren was mainly aimed at achieving a religious goal, i.e. the maintenance and spread of Islam. In Tebuireng and Tegalsari, there were no such active protests, although both were involved in politics.

Tegalsari's mosque as the penghulu office : Kyai ʿAbdul Jalil allowed Muharror to become penghulu only on condition that Muharror always showed obedience to him. Thus the acceptance of the office was intended primarily to broaden the influence of the pesantren. This acceptance also indicates that the pesantren was not uninterested in government posts and did not regard such office as contrary to the teaching of the tarekat. ʿAbdul Jalīl's interest, however, was not primarily in its worldly attraction but in its advantage for the spread of Islam. This is also evident from the fact that the Kyai's close relatives were never encouraged to take the penghulu post, though at present the post is occupied by a great-grandson of Kyai ʿAbdul Jalil. To avoid any abuse of power, Tegalsari tried to maintain full control of the personnel of the penghulu office and of the succession to the head of that office.

TEGALSARI AFTER KYAI ʿABDUL JALIL

Tegalsari had not yet reached its full growth when Kyai ʿAbdul Jalīl died in 1916. He left six sons, Jufri, Hawari, Mansur, Hisham, Ghufron and ʿIsam. Jufri, who was at that time in his late 20's, succeeded his father as the leader of the Tarekat. He was assisted by Hawari. Jufri had never attended any other pesantren. He had studied Islam under his own father and he was particularly interested in Sufism and tarekat practices. His father confirmed Jufri

as badal murshid and his legitimate successor when he was only 16 years old.

The problem of succession, however, did not centre on the tarekat leadership. Jufri could continue the tarekat leadership although he was not as successful as his father. ʿAbdul Jalīl's death raised, however, a serious problem concerned with the teaching of religious texts. His first three sons were not well trained in religious texts. The younger three were still studying in Mecca. With the exception of Hisham, who was about 22 years old, these younger sons were not yet 20. Kyai ʿAbdul Jalīl had trained two important members of his staff, Kyai Ibrahim and Kyai Idris, who were both qualified teachers of religious texts. Both, however, died in almost the same time as ʿAbdul Jalīl.[20]

In 1917, Hisham returned from Mecca and took full responsibility for teaching religious texts; he contributed considerably to the development of Islamic education for the younger generation. He established five madrasah, all run by his students, in Tegalsari, Susukan, Ketapang, Gentan and Bakalrejo, the surrounding five kelurahan close to Tegalsari. One of Hisham's cousins, Kyai Shukri Ghazali, continued his advanced studies in the Pesantren Jamsaren and Tebuireng. When he

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20 Kyai Ibrahim was Ali Munawwar's son-in-law. Kyai Idris was ʿAbdul Jalīl's younger brother.

had finished in 1928, however, he did not return to Tegalsari but instead took up a post as the Assistant Director of the Pesantren Singosari in Malang, East Java.[21]

Kyai Ghufron and 'Isam, Hisham's two younger brothers did not return to Tegalsari when they finished their studies in Mecca. They established their own pesantren in Candran, Salatiga, about 22 kilometres from Tegalsari. Thus the development of Tegalsari depended solely on Jufri, who concentrated on teaching tarekat followers and on Hisham, who concentrated on the teaching of elementary religious knowledge to young people. Jufri, however, was much less influential and capable than his father; the number of his followers began to decline. He died in the 1950's and was succeeded by his son Kyai Maesur who had approximately two thousand followers in 1978.

Hisham's students, who numbered about two hundred in the 1930's, dropped to about 50 during the second World War and the War of Independence (1942-1949). During the 1950's, his students dropped again to less than 30, and most of them studied only the chanting of the Qur'an. Hisham's move to Reksosari in the late

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[21] Kyai Shukri was the Director of Religious Affairs in Jakarta between 1952 and 1967. He is now the Vice Chairman of the Majlis 'Ulama' Pusat (National Council of Islamic Scholars) in Jakarta.

1950's[22] ended the teaching of Arabic texts at Tegalsari. Since then Tegalsari has become a pesantren which teaches two thousand tarekat followers.

The inability of Hisham to attract new students after the War of Independence was partly due to the expansion of secular education by the Indonesian Government and to the inability to absorb the madrasah within the new system. Hisham was not alone in this difficulty; most pesantren that relied for their support on local students disbanded because they could not compete with the expansion of secular schools. Although Pesantren Tegalsari has ceased to be a centre for the study of religious texts, Hisham left many students who have now become religious teachers and have established pengajian and madrasah in the various kelurahan close to Tegalsari.

Another reason for the inability of Pesantren Tegalsari to develop and to survive was its inability to keep its qualified staff. Kyai Shukri, Ghufron, 'Isam and later Kyai Mushafa, Kyai Maesur's brother, all of whom were very well-trained, did not return to Tegalsari. I could not find any satisfactory answer for this. The success of Kyai Shukri in Malang and later in Jakarta as a great ʿulamā' indicates that Kyai Shukri regarded Tegalsari as unimportant for the development of his

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22 His first wife died in the mid-1950's; he later remarried a girl from Reksosari, seven kilometres to the north of Tegalsari.

career. Personal conflict may also, perhaps, have contributed to his decision not to return to Tegalsari. When he was studying in the Pesantren Jamsaren in Surakarta under the instruction of Kyai Abu Ngamar, he also attended Madrasah Mamba'ul 'Ulum (the Source of Knowledge), a well-known madrasah in Surakarta during the 1920's and 1930's. This madrasah was considered by the Kyai in Tegalsari as sympathetic towards the modernist movement of the Muhammadiyah. Kyai Shukri assured me that Kyai Jufri did not like him studying in the Mamba'ul 'Ulum. I am not certain at all about the reason for Kyai Ghufron and 'Isam's settlement in Chandran, Salatiga, except that both married girls in this area. The two pesantren built by Kyai Ghufron and 'Isam in Candran were both less significant than that in Tegalsari. Kyai Shukri told me that Kyai Ghufron and 'Isam protested to Kyai Jufri when he married an ordinary woman (as his second wife) in the late 1920's. This woman was a petty food seller but "very" beautiful. Jufri's first wife was from Tempursari, Klaten, and a second nephew of Jufri, but did not bear him any child. Thus various factors contributed to the inability of Jufri to attract his immediate and most qualified relatives to teach in Tegalsari : first the lack of leadership; second, ideological conflict between Islamic modernism and traditionalism (which began to penetrate Tegalsari area in the 1920's) and third, personal conflict stemming from Jufri's second marriage.

The last reason which explains the inability of Tegalsari to survive was that both Jufri and Hisham left no successors to teach religious texts. Jufri left two sons, Kyai Mushafa and Kyai Maesur. Mushafa was well-trained but later took up a post as the Head of the Office of Religious Education in the Semarang Regency. Kyai Maesur, who was only 24 when Jufri died was not well-trained. He studied for some years in the Pesantren Watucongol in Magelang, but never completed his intermediate training. Like his father, Jufri, he could continue the tarekat leadership without much problem thanks to the hereditary tradition of succession within tarekat orders.

Hisham had only one son, Mahasin. Mahasin, however, after some years study in Pesantren Kaliwungu and a stay in Semarang, was more attracted to Islamic modernism than to Islamic traditionalism. He is now a Colonel in the army whose main job is to preach Islam to members of the army. From many conversations which I have had with him, it was clear to me that he had a nostalgic memory of the "glorious" past of Pesantren Tegalsari during the Hisham's life. He intends to establish his own pesantren after he retires from the army, although the pesantren will not be like his father's. Perhaps his experience shows that he has been less successful in strengthening the Islamic faith of the Muslim community through the "modern" way than the method of his father was. I doubt however, whether he has enough patience to lead a pesantren. In these conversations I could sense an unsympathetic attitude

toward Kyai Maesur whom Mahasin regarded as someone who stuck too much to traditionalism. Mahasin seems to have misunderstood Kyai Maesur, as most modernists usually do. From many conversations which I have had with Kyai Maesur, it is clear that he realized that he knew only enough to lead a life pleasing to God; not more grammar than was urgently necessary to understand elementary theological literature; not more casuistry than would shield one from error in ritual things; and such knowledge of dogma as is a minimum for a religious teacher. He also believed in the theory that the Sufi training could only become fruitful after sufficient study of law and dogma. He suggested, however, that no one is forbidden to hold dhikir (chant) in honour of Allah and the Prophet Muhammad. Such dhikir continually takes place in social gatherings since the Qur'an recommends the dhikir in countless passages. Maesur's experience shows that the majority of his followers have not had sufficient education. What he has been doing is to lead them to the higher life by the exercises of the tarekat order.

From the life stories of the leaders of the Pesantren Tebuireng and Tegalsari, we can draw an interesting comparison : Tebuireng always keeps the potentially qualified relatives and students to become teacher staff. Tegalsari, on the other hand, has sent them or indeed thrown them out.

The case of Kyai Shukri Gozali is a good example. Jufri did not like Kyai Shukri because Jufri was suspicious of Kyai Shukri's sympathy for Islamic modernism. Kyai Shukri received a similar response from the leaders of the Pesantren Singosari when Kyai Shukri first settled in Malang. Fortunately, Hadratus-Shaikh knew the Director of the Pesantren Singosari, Kyai Mashkur, very well and he asked Kyai Mashkur to send Kyai Shukri to Tebuireng. Kyai Shukri "was ordered" by Hadratus-Shaikh to stay in Tebuireng for some months teaching advanced students. Hadratus-Shaikh also gave Kyai Shukri a responsible role in the Mushawarah class, thus showing Hadratus-Shaikh's high regard for Kyai Shukri's qualification in Islam. Hadratus-Shaikh also sent a letter to Kyai Abu Ngamar of Jamsaren in Surakarta, asking him whether Kyai Shukri was involved in the Muhammadiyah Organisation during Kyai Shukri's stay in Jamsaren. Kyai Abu Ngamar replied that Kyai Shukri was not involved in the Muhammadiyah Organisation. After three months in Tebuireng, Kyai Shukri was sent back to Malang with a "clearance" from Hadratus-Shaikh that Kyai Shukri was not a Muhammadiyah man.

The case of Kyai Shukri shows that Kyai Jufri was rigidly against (Islamic) modernism while Hadratus-Shaikh was not. On the other hand, the case

of Yusuf Hashim of Tebuireng and Mahasin of Tegalsari shows that Mahasin was rigidly opposed to tarekat, while Yusuf, although a member of Parliament and a person with closer attachments to metropolitan culture, was sympathetic towards tarekat. The two pesantren clearly had different social milieu. Tegalsari was located far from urban centres while Tebuireng is close to the urban centres. Perhaps for this reason, Tebuireng is more responsive to innovations and creativity than Tegalsari.

Pesantren Tegalsari has almost disappeared now, but after approximately one hundred years it has established Islamic communities in four of the fifteen kelurahan of the Susukan Sub-District. In these four kelurahan, namely Sidoarjo, Ketapang, Bakalrejo and Gentan, the number of committed Islamic villagers represents the majority of the population, as can be seen from the results of the 1977 General Election in which seventy-three per cent of them voted for the Islamic Party. Table VIII shows the results of these elections. Table VIII also shows that the influence of Tegalsari has been felt in other kelurahan. Indeed, the influence of Tegalsari has extended beyond the Susukan Sub-District. The establishment of the two pesantren in Candran, Salatiga by Kyai Ghufron and 'Isam is an example of the further extension of Tegalsari's influence.

TABLE VIII

Distribution of Votes in the 1977 General Election in the Susukan Sub-District

Total Voters : 22,307

Kelurahan	Golkar	PPP[a]	PDI[b]
Susukan	523	712	41
Ketapang	487	1,870	39
Sidoarjo	232	1,199	1
Koripan	1,291	599	78
Kemetul	593	136	64
Ngasinan	404	389	56
Gentan	681	1,139	66
Bakalrejo	283	1,112	31
Tawang	1,151	812	215
Rogomulyo	1,702	23	318
Kenteng	1,203	523	73
Muncar	476	313	100
Kaliwungu	2,312	32	315
Udanwuh	273	5	20
Kener	414	1	10
TOTAL :	12,015	8,865	1,427

Notes: a) Partai Persatuan Pembangunan (a coalition of all Islamic Parties. b) Partai Demokrasi Indonesia (Indonesian Democratic Party.

Source : The 1977 Report of the Susukan Sub-District

ISLAM IN TEGALSARI AREA

The case of Tegalsari as described above is a good example that minor pesantren are agents for the further local diffusion of Islam in the Javanese villages. In the case of Tebuireng, Islamic teachings are transmitted through mainly the classical texts. In many respects, originality is thus maintained. At the local level, classical Islamic texts are taught to only small numbers of students; the texts taught in minor pesantren are also very limited, mainly some elementary ones. One or two students, usually the Kyai's own relatives, are taught intermediate and advanced texts, but in general minor pesantren do not train students to become qualified ʿulamā'. Major pesantren usually only indirectly lead a tarekat order, while most minor pesantren become the seat of a tarekat order. The vast majority of the people who come to the Kyai desire to receive guidance in religious practices; and many of them come to the Kyai desiring to exploit his spiritual powers to cure an ailment or to fulfil a wish. The Kyai cannot, in practice, turn his back on anyone who comes to him for blessings and guidance. In general, the participants in the Kyais' religious activities at the local level can be classified into two groups, the true disciples and the less committed adherents. The Kyai always urge the true disciples to follow strictly the teachings of Islam; while to the less committed

adherents the Kyai are more tolerant. However 'mixed' Islam is among these less committed adherents, there is always strong desire to maintain the liturgical forms of traditional Islam which ensures an overall uniformity of practice. No creative adaptation is apparent. The acquired forms and beliefs are blended into the new human environment, but by juxtaposition rather than fusion, the old and new existing parallel to each other. In other words, there is always a dualism, not a synthesis - the unyielding nature of the Islamic institutions precluding this. Some quotes from my fieldnotes will illustrate these points :
In general, almost all Kyais' adherents in the Tegalsari area observe Islamic obligations, i.e. five daily prayers, fasting during the Ramadān, and observe the reading of the Qur'an as part of their life. Most of the qualified members pay alms and perform the haj to Mecca.

In matters of the inner beliefs, however, many villagers are still bound with folk beliefs. In other words, belief in Allah, and in Muḥammad as His messenger, does not automatically eliminate all folk beliefs. Offerings to the danyang desa (village deities) disappeared only in the early 1930's. The last person who was regarded as having extraordinary supernatural powers died in 1936. Belief in

traditional spirits, such as memedi or gendruwo (frightening spirits), intuk (spirits who were believed to be able to help their owners to gain wealth), and demit (guardian spirits)[23] were still widely accepted by children and teenagers until the 1950's. Many older people continued to believe in such spirits, but they were reluctant to talk about these spirits.[24] Today, the Kyai's teachings on beliefs in jinnee, angels and satan have been better understood; almost every villager understands that God has created jinnee and satan; and satan was created to deceive people. The following chant, in Javanese, is usually offered before ʿisha' prayer during Ramadān when many villagers carry out their obligation :

> Lord Allah is only one,
> Nothing can resemble Him,
> He is neither male nor female,
> He has neither father nor mother,
> He has neither child nor wife,
> Lord Allah is our guidance,
> Who gives us life,
> Who gives us health and prosperity.

The following chant, also in Javanese, is usually offered before subuh prayer :

> Lord Allah, I beg your forgiveness,
> Forgive all my sins,
> Serious sins or slight ones,
> Nobody could forgive my sins,
> Except He who is the greatest,
> The King of all kings.

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[23] For various kinds of spirits traditionally believed in by the Javanese, consult Geertz (1960 : 16-29).

[24] At the time of my interviews in 1977 young people were less enthusiastic, though many of them were still frightened to go out at a dark night.

The theocentric belief system as expressed in these two chants was introduced by the Kyai before I was born because the two chants were already there in the Susukan mosque in the 1940's.[25] This is not to say that this theocentric belief system has replaced the animistic one, but rather that there has been a gradual process of change.

Ruwahan (the veneration of the dead together with the sacrificial meal on the 15 of Sha'ban, the ninth month of the Islamic lunar calender) disappeared in the 1950's. The veneration of the dead on the first of Shawwal and other specific days is still widely practised but the non-Islamic features of these rituals have generally been replaced by Islamic elements. These practices no longer consist of an offering or sacrifice for the dead but of a request to Allah to forgive the sins of the deceased and bring him to Heavan.

In the Tegalsari area in 1977 there was no one who was considered a dukun (healer) although the belief in such practitioners still seemed dimly to be held by some villagers. In a "critical" situation, such as serious illness, many of them still consulted dukun, but to consult a dukun these villagers had to go to other villages.

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25 I was born in the Susukan village, 500 metres to the south of Tegalsari, in 1941.

No Kyai publicly and explicitly attacks the traditional animistic belief of the people. This, however, does not mean that the Kyai do not regard such belief as un-Islamic. Indeed the Kyai consider such belief un-Islamic. I asked Kyai Tahrir about peoples' belief in dukun, gendruwo, intuk, and all sorts of traditional Javanese religious concepts; and his answer was :

> Of course such beliefs are un-Islamic. But, should I condemn them for this? It is wrong even to say or to tell them that they have done something which is prohibited by Islam. No, no, this is unwise. Tell them what Islam is; tell them what they should believe in. I do not want to create popular resentment to Islam, but, first of all, sympathy.[26]

Indeed, there has been a growing awareness among preachers of how to preach Islam in the wisest way. On the 22 Ramadan (27 August 1978) in Susukan, Sutarto gave a special course to about 80 members of Remaja Pertiwi[27] on the technique of da'wah (preaching Islam),

> If you preach Islam, first of all you must know who your listeners are. Welcome them for their participation in your pengajian. Do not raise hatred against anyone or any group. Do you know why people in Kenteng a kelurahan, about four kilometres to the east of Susukan now run away from Islam and profess Buddhism? It was simply because there was once a preacher who attacked them for their sympathy to the Communist Party before 1965.

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[26] Personal interview with Kyai Tahrir on 7 September 1978.

[27] Golkar in Central Java has now established an organization called Remaja Pertiwi whose membership are boys and girls aged between 13 and 25. In every village the lurah is advised to form a branch of the organization.

Thus in the Tegalsari area, the expansion of Islamic faith continues. My data support Drewes' thesis,

> The Islamization of Indonesia is still in progress, not only in the sense that Islam is still spreading among pagan tribes, but also in that peoples who went over to Islam centuries ago are living up more and more to the standard of Muslim orthodoxy (Drewes 1955 : 286).

In the present stage of the Islamization of Indonesia Islamic doctrine is imparted with an increasingly strong dosage of orthodoxy.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC BASES OF THE SPREAD OF ISLAM

The discussion so far has concentrated on the spread of the Islamic faith among the Javanese peasants primarily from a religious angle. It must now also be seen in the context of the social, economic and political life of the people.

Any religion needs followers. Some religions, including Islam, strongly urge their followers to spread the faith to other people. A hadith says : "Tell people what I have said, even if only a sentence" (Himpunan ... 1972 : 37). As confirmed by Kyai Haji Ali Ma'sum, the leader of Pesantren Krapyak in Yogyakarta, the two main aims of pesantren education are : _first_, to produce Islamic leaders who are concerned with the defence of the Islamic faith; and _second_, to produce Islamic preachers who are strongly imbued with the calling to spread Islam (Ali Ma'sum 1978).

Settled in Tegalsari in the 1860's among nominal Muslims, Kyai Rāzi and Ali Munawwar were instructed by their teacher to perform their duty as pesantren graduates since the people had to be taught to hold their Islamic faith firmly. They had no other expectation than "a reward of a better life in Heavan" but this is not to say that other factors were unimportant in this process.

The most important factor was the availability and accessibility of qualified preachers. Tegalsari gained a mass following only when 'Abdul Jalīl established a tarekat order. 'Abdul Jalīl had understood better than his father-in-law that, unless parents were convinced that Islam ensured a better life, either in this world or in the hereafter, they would not send their children to study in the pesantren.

The villagers who live in the four kelurahan closest to Tegalsari have been the most Islamized. This, perhaps, suggests that geographical proximity to the pesantren is an important factor in determining whether a certain village is inhibited by faithful or nominal Muslims. It is also significant that these four kelurahan are more prosperous than other villages because of their surplus in rice production. However, we do not know whether this was a factor which influenced Kyai Rāzi and 'Abdul Jalīl in their choice of Tegalsari.

Almost all villagers in this area until the 1950's were farmers and there was no link between trade and Islam in the process of Islamization. Kyai Razi and Ali Munawwar were ordinary peasants, not much wealthier than the average villagers. They also engaged in farming and were assisted by their students who, in return, enjoyed free board at the pesantren. However, Rāzi and Ali Munawwar were not full-time religious leaders and so they still had to work in the rice fields to support their families. With the help of other relatives, Rāzi managed to send his son-in-law, 'Abdul Jalīl, to Mecca where he studied for eight years. 'Abdul Jalil then supported himself as a full-time religious teacher. Although he still owned rice fields, he entrusted the management of these fields to his students. As a religious leader, 'Abdul Jalīl received sufficient economic support from his thousands of tarekat followers who contributed to him a small part of their rice production. He was probably the wealthiest man in this area at the turn of the twentieth century as shown by the fact that he could send all six of his sons to study in Mecca; and that three of them stayed there for five to eight years. 'Abdul Jalīl's tarekat, then, gave tremendous advantages : The increased observances of the Islamic faith by the villagers led to increased economic support for the pesantren and for the further education of his children in Saudi Arabia.

Jufri, 'Abdul Jalīl's son, followed a path similar to that of his father. He became the leader of the tarekat, but he was not as successful as his father and so did not gain as much economic support from his followers as did his father. Moreover, unlike his father who had only one wife, Jufri supported four wives. He could not afford to give as good an education to his children as his father had done, and consequently he did not provide successors for his pesantren.

Hisham, who took over responsibility for educating the younger generation, was not supported financially by his students. He relied for his living solely on the rice fields granted to him by his parents-in-law. But since he spent all his time teaching, he entrusted the management of his rice fields to a neighbour. Occasionally parents of his students "paid a tribute" (Javanese : punjungan) at the end of Ramadan, but this "tribute" was insignificant. Thus Hisham could not afford to send his child to study in Saudi Arabia. He was an influential Kyai and gained a high social status in this area. His son, Mahasin, was taken as a son-in-law by one of the wealthiest family in this area.[28]

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[28] Unlike Hisham, Hadratus-Shaikh of Tebuireng engaged in trade during his earlier career as a Kyai. After twenty years, he collected enough money to buy about 17 hectares of rice fields. To support the high costs of his large pesantren - when his students numbered more than 200, Hadratus-Shaikh imposed a 10 cent monthly school fee on each of his students. This practice, then, gave him further income when his students increased to more than 2,000 in the 1930's. Besides their remarkable prestige as Kyai, the popularity of Hadratus-Shaikh and his son in NU was partly due to their wealth (see Abubakar 1957:284).

The fact that Hisham was supported by wealthy parents-in-law and was taken as a relative-in-law by a wealthy family suggests that he was directly supported by the wealthiest stratum of village society. Indirectly, religious leadership, wealth, religious education, devotion and charity were inter-connected. The strengthening of the observances of Islamic faith among the masses, however, was less related to economic factors.

The relationship between socio-economic factors and Islamic knowledge can be seen in two connections. First, the term "educated man" until the 1940's meant people who were successful in gaining an Islamic education in the pesantren. Until the 1920's, the pesantren and pengajian offered the only education available for the people in this area. In the 1930's the Dutch introduced four year elementary schools for children aged between eight and twelve, with no further classes open for them after that. Consequently knowledgeable religious teachers were highly respected. Second, only wealthy people could afford to send their children to "good" pesantren, and only people who were tremendously wealthy could send their children to study in Saudi Arabia.

Since the 1950's the term "educated man" (Javanese : "<u>wong pinter</u>") has been used more and more to indicate students who acquire secular knowledge at

secular universities, although university graduates, who also have a good knowledge of Islam, are still highly respected. This tendency may explain the disappearance of minor pesantren, and, indirectly, the lowering of the social and economic status of religious teachers. A Kyai's children are now more interested in obtaining university degrees and taking posts in the government bureaucracy than in continuing the leadership of their father's pesantren. However, although most minor pesantren have disappeared in contemporary Java, traditional Islam is still dominant and is spreading at the grass-roots level. The expansion of Islamic faith among nominal Muslims now relies on government-paid religious officials and teachers employed by the Ministry of Religious Affairs, either in madrasah or at penghulu offices throughout Indonesia.[29]

It is noteworthy that the present-day religious functionaries in the modern bureaucracy in the Tegalsari area derive their personnel mainly from the descendants of Tegalsari Kyai. This indicates that there has been a continuity of religious leadership at the grass-roots level. The religious outlook of these religious functionaries seems to remain fixed in the moulds created by the Kyai of past generations, but, in fact, the inner structure of their religious life has been profoundly re-adjusted.

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[29] This subject, however, is not covered by my thesis.

In the following chapter I will examine the re-adjustment of the tarekat practices of the Kyai in contemporary Java. The Kyai's tarekat has been regarded as being the most strongly tied up with medieval Islam.

CHAPTER SIX

THE KYAI AND TAREKAT

Since January 1978, the Pesantren Tebuireng has become the centre of the powerful Tarekat Qādiriyyah wa'l Naqshabandiyyah in East Java, and it is likely that the pesantren will continue to hold the central leadership of the tarekat in this area for a long period. In this chapter I shall discuss the importance of tarekat within the Kyai tradition, examine the type of tarekat practised by the Kyai, and describe the Tarekat Qādiriyyah wa'l Naqshabandiyyah in Tebuireng.

The term tarekat derives from the Arabic _tarīqa_. As a generic term, tarekat means the Way or Spiritual Path by which man is able to transcend his own human limitations and approach the Divine. In this manner, tarekat is also usually known as _tasawwuf_ (Sufism),[1] the inner and esoteric dimension of Islam. As a special

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[1] Sufism has attracted a good deal of scholarly interest on the part of students of Islam, and consequently a considerable number of books on this subject, both general surveys and monographic studies, are available today. Thanks to these works I need not attempt to condense a description of Sufism into a few pages of introduction to this chapter. See, for example, A.J. Arberry (1942 and 1950), J.S. Trimingham (1973), S.H. Nasr (1966 and 1972), F. Rahman (1966), M. Milson (1975), S.A.A. Rizvi (1978), Mujeeb (1969) and I. Shah (1977).

term, tarekat is more commonly understood to refer "a Sufi order", i.e. a Sufi group which practises the same dhikir exercises and follows the same system of mystical initiation.

It is important to note that within the pesantren tradition, the term tasawwuf is used to indicate only the intellectual aspect of Sufism, while its ethical and practical aspects, which are regarded as more important than its intellectual aspect, is referred to by the word tarekat. Since I am more concerned with its practical aspects, I employ, in this thesis, the word tarekat to refer to the Sufi tradition in the pesantren.

Within the Kyai tradition, the term tarekat is defined as "a scrupulous observance of the rules of the shariʿah in ritual and social matters, i.e. by observing wiraʿi,[2] performing recommended rituals before and after performing obligatory prayers,[3] and practising riyālah"[4] (ʿAbdul Jalīl 1963 : 11). In this manner, all Kyai regard themselves as the "people of the Way" (ahl al-tarīqah). In other words, a tarīqa, within the

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2 Wiraʿi means refraining from shubhah (everything which is uncertainly allowed by the shari'ah).

3 Such as sunnah qabliyyah (recommended prayers before performing obligatory prayers) and sunnah ba'diyyah (recommended prayers after performing obligatory prayers).

4 Riyālah derives from the Arabic riyāda meaning religious exercises or devotions, such as recommended fasting on Mondays and Thursdays.

Kyai tradition, exists without a corresponding organized fraternity. Indeed before the advent of organized Sufism, there existed tarīqa which were merely schools of Sufi doctrine. The Sufi orders, in their rise, are connected with this early phase of schools of Sufism and the term tarīqa has therefore retained this original meaning of being ideally a method or way with doctrinal overtones even though rites and external practices increased in importance.

Within the Kyai tradition, then, there are two kinds of tarekat, namely, tarekat practised within a Sufi order and tarekat practised outside a Sufi order. Since most Kyai are permanent imām (leaders of communal prayers) of the mosques, both kinds of tarekat are practised within a congregation. Thus, tarekat congregations within the Kyai tradition are not the monopoly of Sufi orders. All Kyai will normally lead the obligatory prayers in common and, in addition, will lead their ma'mūm (participants in communal prayers) in the devotional exercise of remembrance (dhikir). In dhikir gatherings, selections from the Qur'an will be recited or chanted, and God's names will be repeated. From my observations in various pesantren, the students are collectively engaged, under the guidance of the Kyai, in devotional exercise of dhikir. The forms of dhikir exercise and the formulae of the divine names recited

by the Kyai and the students were not very different from those practised by the members of "respected" tarekat orders.[5]

It has been a convention among students of Islam to make categorical distinctions between orthodox and unorthodox trends, with special reference to the position of tarekat. Presumably, there is an inherent contrast between rationalistic, legalistic, and scripturalistic orthodox Islam and "irrationalistic" tarekat practices. Most writers on Sufism also assert that the members of tarekat orders practise a different sort of Islam from ordinary Muslims. The assertion is mainly based on the fact that the members of tarekat orders believe that the methods of tarekat can be practised with safety only under the direction of a master within an order. According to these writers, members of tarekat orders believe that intimate personal intercourse with God can only be attained via intermediaries (shaikhs). The absolute authority, both in matters spiritual and material, of the Sufi leader over his disciples is regarded (by these writers) as a cardinal constitutional principle of organized

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5 See the dhikir formulae in Tebuireng on page 183. On "respected" tarekat orders, see page 269 ff.

Sufism. In this manner, they come to a conclusion that, Sufism thus becomes virtually a cult of personalities.[6]

At the most gross level of characterization, there may appear to be some truth in the notion that the belief in intermediaries is the unorthodox belief. However, such generalization does little justice to the real features of tarekat belief and practices. If we look at the definition of tarekat given by the Kyai, as presented earlier, and the doctrinal bases of tarekat practices, which I will discuss in detail later, it cannot be denied that tarekat as practised by the Kyai in Java is undoubtedly within the fold of orthodox Islam. As I will show later, in Java there are tarekat orders considered to be orthodox and others considered unorthodox.[7] But more seriously, gross characterization of the above kind tends to assume an understanding of tarekat beliefs, and so preclude a careful analysis of the features of the belief system of

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6 See, for example, Fazlur Rahman (1979 : 153-4).

7 Fazlur Rahman, an authoritative modernist Muslim scholar, suggests that the Qadiriyyah Tarekat is on the whole orthodox avoiding the excesses of the more extreme popular orders. The founder of this tarekat did not leave any rigid system of either doctrine or practice besides the basic spirit of charity and non-fanaticism. There is nothing unorthodox in its dhikir-formulas, composed as they usually are of passages and phrases from the Qur'an (F. Rahman 1979 : 159).

the members of tarekat orders. If we examine their own exegesis concerning aspects of Islamic belief, we can see that the interpretation they give are firmly within the orthodox tradition. Kyai Bishri Musthafa gives an explanation as follows :

> One may directly approach God - or if one wishes, by way of tawassul. Because God knows all and hears all. Do not imagine that approaching God by way of tawassul is the same as if you had asked your Minister or your boss for a promotion through the agency of a foreman.
>
> An understanding that tawassul is of this order is not correct. Because to use an intermediary in such a secular situation one must have faith in the authority of the intermediary as much as in the authority of the boss.
>
> The situation is not analogous in the case of tawassul. A better analogy for tawassul, would be a person who reads the Qur'an using spectacles. This person views only the Qur'an - one could not say he is looking at glass. (B. Musthafa 1967 : 53)

From many conversations which I have had with Kyai and members of the tarekat orders in Jombang, it is clear that the guidance of the shaikh in tarekat practices is not regarded by them as an interference in but as an accompaniment to their personal relationship with God. As confirmed by M. Mujeeb,

> This belief was propagated in sūfi literature, but had no theological basis. It was an aim of the sūfi movement to raise the status of the shaikh as high as possible and though the general belief that on the Day of Judgement the Prophet would intercede for his people was not disturbed, the shaikh's intercession for every individual murid (student) was held out as the strongest hope for God's forgiveness and the reward of heaven (1969 : 124).

Mujeeb also suggests that,

> The vast majority of the people who came to the sūfi desired to exploit his spiritual powers to cure an ailment or to fulfill a wish. We cannot blame them, specially those stricken with some illness, for whom the prayers of the sūfi were the only hope of relief or cure ...
>
> The sūfi could not, in practice, turn their backs on any who came to them for blessings and guidance. (1969 : 126-127)

In contemporary Java, the vast majority of the people who join the tarekat orders are old people who desire to intensify their religious faith. Guidance from the shaikh is needed, but is not the main motive. The feeling of being bound to the performance of the dhikir and therewith to the performance of regular prayers without which the dhikir carries no blessing is the most important motive for joining a tarekat order. The second consideration is the tarekat emphasis on brotherhood. It has been well-noted by most writers that among various Muslim communities, the members of tarekat orders have been the most stirred by the Qur'anic ideal of a brotherhood of believers "in the Way of God"; they have been moved literally to tears by accounts of the fraternal acts of the Prophet Muhammad and his Companions. Among many Muslims, the spirit of brotherhood is most alive and expresses itself in the

attitudes and behaviour of the members of tarekat orders. Particular tarekat orders attract those who are mainly stricken with illness, drug addiction and those with guilt feelings or frustrations from failures in political and business activities. To such persons, Kyai Mukhtar, the leader of the Tarekat Siddiqiyyah,[8] offers ideas and practical suggestions to refine and enrich their life. "When such a person sets his foot on the path" said Kyai Mukhtar, "he pronounces the taubah, that is, repentance from sin which consists in a feeling of shame for whatever wrong one has done, and forms the resolution never again to come near sinfulness". Again, here, the Kyai's guidance must not be regarded as an interference, but as a showing of the "correct" path of the taubah. "Let them hear something about God's mercy rather than terrify them by talking of the heat of the hell-fire".[9] After taubah, the importance of maintaining an established routine of prayers or dhikir is then emphasized. Many go no further than these externals, but when they return home after some months of instruction they have been made by the tarekat into pious Muslims, for they bind themselves to the continuance of the performance of the dhikir.

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8 On the Tarekat Siddiqiyyah, see page 266 ff.

9 Personal interview with Kyai Mukhtar of Ploso, Jombang on 19 May 1978.

THE FOUNDATION OF TAREKAT ORDERS IN JAVA

It has often been noted that although Arab and Islamic merchants had been visiting Indonesia regularly from the eighth century, no Islamic communities of note appear there until the thirteenth century. It was only during the period when the Sufi orders became a dominant influence in the Islamic world, between the thirteenth and the eighteenth centuries, that Islam could put down roots among the people of the Indonesian states or influence their rulers. In other words, the success of the spread of Islam in Indonesia was due to the works of the Sufis (Johns 1961 : 14). Unfortunately, the story of how vast tracts of the myriad islands of Indonesia were won for Islam by the devotion and force of personality of waves of individual Sufis is a story of epic dimensions that has yet to be told.[10]

Historians of Islam in Java commonly note that the tarekat orders were an early importation into Java and dated back to the sixteenth or the beginning of the seventeenth century. Rinkes, for example, mentions that the Shātariyyah tarekat was originally propagated in Aceh by 'Abdurra'uf of Singkel. From

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[10] The study of tarekat orders in Java is a scholar's virgin territory. Some general accounts of religious life and Sufism in Indonesia in the sixteenth and seventeenth century could be found in Rinkes (1909), Kraemer (1921), Drewes and Poerbatjaraka (1938), and van Nieuwenhuijze (1945).

the seventeenth century onwards, the Shātariyyah tarekat travelled from Aceh to West Java and from there to Central and East Java. It was Shaikh 'Abdul Muhyi of Karang, a disciple of the said 'Abdurra'uf, who established the Shatariyyah tarekat in West Java.[11] A famous Qādiriyyah Sufi was Hamzah al-Fansuri, who visited various places, including Java, as a wandering Sufi master (Kraemer 1924 : 29).

During the latter part of the nineteenth century, tarekat orders in Java gained new strength and popular appeal. This was due to the increasing flow of disciples of Shaikh Khatib Sambas and Sulaiman Effendi returning from Mecca. Snouck Hurgronje mentions that Khatib Sambas was a renowned Jawah Scholar and was regarded by his younger contemporaries as learned to the highest degree in all branches of Islamic knowledge; he particularly overranked his Jawah colleagues, however, in that he had reached the highest grade in the Qādiriyyah Tarekat. He initiated thousands of pilgrims and settlers from all parts of Indonesia as disciples of his tarekat (Hurgronje 1931 : 276). In Java, however, Khatib Sambas was regarded as the founder of a new tarekat, the "Tarekat Qadiriyyah wa'l Naqshabandiyyah".[12]

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[11] For a life history of Shaikh 'Abdul Muhyi, see Rinkes (1910 : 556-589).

[12] See the discussion on Shaikh Khatib Sambas and his tarekat in Chapter III.

Sulaiman Effendi was the Shaikh of the Naqshabandiyyah tarekat. Snouck Hurgronje mentions that there was a great convent of the Naqshabandiyyah order on the slope of the Mount of Abu Qubais in Mecca. This had been founded by Shaikh Sulaiman Effendi, who especially attracted his adherents amongst Turks and Malays (Hurgronje 1931 : 176 and 205-206). Kartodirdjo observes that in Java as a whole the Naqshabandiyyah was the strongest tarekat during the nineteenth century. He also mentions that the Qadiriyyah and Shatariyyah were important tarekat in this period. Scattered groups under the names of Rahmaniyyah or Rifa'iyyah were found, but were of little importance (Kartodirdjo 1966 : 157-158).

In contemporary Java, the Tarekat Qādiriyyah wa'l Naqshabandiyyah has become the most powerful and widely spread tarekat order. In Central and East Java, where I did my fieldwork, there are four other minor tarekat orders, namely, the Shātariyyah, the Siddīqiyyah, the Shadhiliyyah and the Wahīdiyyah.[13]

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[13] Sharon Siddique mentions various tarekat orders in contemporary Cirebon; they are the Qādiriyyah, the Naqshabandiyyah, the Khalwatiyyah, the Tijāniyyah, the Shātariyyah, the Shadhiliyyah, the Muhammadiyyah, the Astrariyyah, and the Anpasiyyah (Siddique 1977 : 144-145). She did not mention the combined Qādiriyyah wa'l Naqshabandiyyah led by a famous Kyai named Shaikh Tolhah from Kalisapu, near Cirebon, which was mentioned by Soebardi (1979 : 219-220).

The Shātariyyah tarekat in East Java traces its spiritual chain back to the early Shātariyyah of Banten. The order was originally founded in India by Shaikh 'Abdullah Shattār (d. 1485). There are now two important Shātariyyah centres in East Java : the first is in Nganjuk led by Kyai Kusnun, and the second is in Takeran, in Madiun, led by Kyai Muhammad Tarmuzi. Before 1966, the tarekat was not important. From 1966 on, it has attracted more and more followers, mainly from nominal Muslims. Muslim 'Abdurrahman suggests that the main initial motive of these nominal Muslims for joining the tarekat is to acquire "spritiual protection". As a result of this close association with the leader of the tarekat order, they become more committed to the order ('Abdurrahman 1978 : 27-28). The geographical spread and membership of this tarekat are not yet known.

The origin of the Siddīqiyyah tarekat is obscure. It is not found in other Muslim countries. The emergence and development of this tarekat was due to the work of Kyai Mukhtar Mukti who founded the tarekat in Losari, Ploso in Jombang in 1958. He, however, does not claim to be the first founder of the tarekat, but derives his leadership from Kyai Shu'aib Jamali who "went abroad" and transferred the leadership of the tarekat to Kyai Mukhtar Mukti in 1958. In East Java, Kyai Mukhtar is well-known as a "talented" healer.

This explains why he attracts his tarekat members from those who are mainly stricken with illness, drug addiction and those with guilt feelings or frustrations from failures in political and business activities. Like those who are attracted by the Shātariyyah tarekat, people who join the Siddīqiyyah tarekat are nominal Muslims. Their participation in the tarekat, as observed by 'Abdurrahman, is a further step towards participation in the Islamic orthodoxy ('Abdurrahman 1978 : 29-30). The Siddīqiyyah began to be important and attract hundreds of followers in 1977. This was due to Kyai Mukhtar's support for the Golkar in the 1977 general election. His support for the government party was welcomed by the government officials who desparately sought to win the support of the Muslims.

Ken Ward, who has analysed the strength of Islam in East Java, argues that NU success at both the 1955 and the 1957 elections presented the largely secular leadership of Golkar (the government party) with the problem of expanding their organization without earning a reputation of hostility to Islam. A particular kind of appeal had to be conveyed to Muslims to justify their leaving Islamic political parties. The approach used was in fact easily derived from Golkar's anti-party credo. GUPPI (Gabungan Usaha-Usaha Perbaikan Pendidikan Islam = Union of Endeavours to Improve Islamic Education)

the association of Islamic teachers and officials affiliated with the Golkar, it was asserted, would not concern itself with politicized Islamic aspirations, but would devote its energies to functional pursuits such as improving the quality of pesantren education (Ward 1974 : 75).

In the last two general elections (1971 and 1977), Golkar tried to win the support of the Muslims by attracting some Kyai to Golkar. Some of these Kyai were members of NU. Among them were : Kyai Musta'in Romly of Jombang, Kyai Badrus Saleh of Kediri, and Kyai Zaeni of Probolinggo. The main government aim in gaining the support of these Kyai was to weaken the political role of NU by exploiting internal disunity among the Kyai. Some Kyai, who are attracted by Golkar, had already been excluded from NU. Among them were : Kyai Kusnun of Nganjuk, Kyai Tarmuzi of Madiun (both are the leaders of the Shātariyyah tarekat) and Kyai Mukhtar Mukti, the leader of the Siddiqiyyah tarekat. The exclusion of these Kyai from NU is because their tarekat orders are regarded as deviating from the ideology of Ahlissunnah wa'l Jamāʿah.[14]

The government's welcome, in return, attracted many people to join the Siddīqiyyah tarekat for various personal interests. ʿAbdurrahman mentions that there were many madrasah and university graduates immediately appointed as government paid religious teachers after joining the tarekat (ʿAbdurrahman 1978 : 30).

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[14] This ideology will be discussed in Chapter VII.

The Wahīdiyyah was founded by Kyai Majid Maʿrūf in Kedunglo, in Kediri, in 1963. Unlike the two previous tarekat orders, the Wahīdiyyah does not require an initiation. Anyone who practises the prescribed formulas of dhikir, the "*Shalawat Wahidiyyah*" is regarded as a member of the Wahīdiyyah. In establishing the Wahīdiyyah, Kyai Majid Maʿrūf was filled with concern at the process of secularization, moral decline, and the religious and spiritual hollowness of the Javanese community. He preaches that people should intensify their fearfulness of God by reciting the formulae of dhikir "*Fafirrū ilallāh*" which means "Let us return into the path of Allah" (ʿAbdurrahman 1978 : 31). It cannot yet be stated with certainty how wide the spread and membership of this tarekat is.

The Shādhiliyyah has only a few followers and is not significant to this discussion.

The Kyai (of NU) in Central and East Java recognize the Tarekat Qādiriyyah wa'l Naqshabandiyyah as *muʿtabar* (valid tarekat), while the other minor four as not *muʿtabar* (invalid tarekat orders).

TAREKAT MUʿTABARAH NAHDIYYIN

On 10 October 1957, the Kyai established the federative body of the *Pucuk Pimpinan Jamʿiyyah Ahli Thoriqoh Muʿtabarah* (Central Executive Committee of the Association of Members of Respected Tarekat Orders). The foundation was based on the decision of the 1957

Nahdatul ʿUlamā' Congress in Magelang. In the 1979 NU Congress the name of the Association was changed into Jamʿiyyah THORIQOH MUʿTABARAH NAHDIYYIN. The addition of the word nahdiyyin was to confirm that the Jamʿiyyah must only be affiliated to the Jamʿiyyah Nahdatul ʿUlamā'. Since its foundation, the top elected leaders of the Jamʿiyyah have been the leading Kyai of major pesantren. Among them were : Kyai Baidawi (d. 1970) and Kyai Maʿsum (d. 1972), both leaders of Pesantren Lasem in Rembang, as well as present-day such as Kyai Hāfiz of Pesantren Lasem, Kyai Muslih of Pesantren Mranggen in Semarang, Kyai Adlan ʿAli of Pesantren Tebuireng in Jombang, and Kyai Arwani of Kudus. They are all leaders of Tarekat Qādiriyyah wa'l Naqshabandiyyah in their own regions and important figures in NU.

As stated in its constitution, the Jamʿiyyah's aims are to increase the application of Islamic Law among the Javanese Muslim community, to strengthen adherence to one of the four madhāhib, and to encourage its members to intensify the performances of religious rituals and social duties as exemplified by the ʿUlamā' al-Sālihīn (Devoted ʿUlamā'). Article Four of the Jamʿiyyah constitution states that the Jamʿiyyah faithfully adheres to the ideology of the Ahlissunnah wa'l Jamāʿah.

There were two main reasons for the establishment of the Jam'iyyah Thoriqoh Mu'tabarah Nahdiyyīn. First, the Kyai aimed to check the influence of the tarekat orders which were considered to deviate from the orthodox tradition. Second, they aimed at checking the possible abuses that most commonly infect even respected tarekat orders. Indeed, the Kyai are quite aware that those who hold offices on occasions receive gifts for themselves or gifts for the brotherhoods and that they have unrestrained disposal over these gifts. Individuals are therefore tempted to give their attention to the material assets and, in general, to use their great influence for improper ends. Snouck Hurgronje recognized that the evil consequences which are entailed by unchecked power of men over men naturally display themselves in the tarekat orders (Hurgronje 1931 : 209).

THE MISSIONARY ROLE OF TAREKAT ORDERS IN JAVA

It has been commonly noted that the Islamic missionaries in Java have been, almost entirely, the leaders of tarekat orders. In other words, precisely because it was the Sufi variety that led the way of Islam in Java. There are various reasons for this. First of all, the ethical and practical stresses of tarekat followed by the Kyai have bestowed unmistakable benefits on Islam in Java. Islam first spread in Java through the personal example of Sufi masters and the establishment

of tarekat orders. In this manner, tarekat orders have served as the spearhead for the spread of Islam and for the application of its Law. Indeed, it is not an exaggeration to say that tarekat have brought Islam to the Javanese masses and the masses to Islam. Kyai Maesur of Pesantren Tegalsari in Salatiga suggested that the long-evident strength of Nahdatul ʿUlamā' in Central and East Java is partly due to the support of the tarekat orders which mobolize the masses at the grass-roots level.[15] The ethical and practical emphases of tarekat orders are on caring for the personal religious needs of the Javanese, particularly the old who have abandoned their worldly interests, and on giving expression to their religious emotions and aspirations. In other words, tarekat orders prevent Islam from becoming a cold and formal doctrine, keeping it alive as an intimate and compassionate faith.

Second, the regular brotherly meetings serve the social needs of traditional people. Third, tarekat orders in Java offer a religious sphere to women, little recognized in the legal religious set-up. As I have shown in the last chapter, the percentage of women tarekat members in Pesantren Tegalsari is larger than that of the male members.

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15 Personal interview with Kyai Maesur on 7 August 1978.

DOCTRINAL BASES OF TAREKAT PRACTICES AMONG THE KYAI

In his two volumes of Sirāj al-Tālibīn[16] (Spiritual Light for the Seekers), Kyai Ihsan Muhammad Dahlan of Jampes Kediri begins with an epigraph : "But ah! thou soul at peace! Return unto thy Lord, content in His good pleasure!" (Qur'an 89 : 27-28) which expresses his belief that the most important goal of human life is "to return into the arms of God". It is indeed the Kyais' main concern in life to have a closer contact with the divine and to experience the nearness of God. There is only one Way to have a closer contact with the divine :

> You must emulate the life of the Prophet Muhammad (Peace be upon him); you must live a life in conformity with the actions and teachings of the Prophet, because the emulation of the Prophet's life expresses your love to God (ʿAbdul Jalīl 1963 : 23).

The Kyai always call themselves "al-faqīr" meaning "the poor". This is in accordance with the Qur'anic verse : "And Allah is the Rich, and ye are the poor" (47 : 38). The faqīr seeks to realize "Muhammedan poverty" (al-faqr al-muhammadī), that is, to realize that he has nothing, that all comes from Allah; that metaphysically he is nothing; Allah is the one and only Being.

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[16] Sirāj al-Tālibīn is a commentary on Al-Ghazālī's Minhāj al- ʿAbidin Ilā Jannah Rob al- ʿĀlamīn ([Spiritual] Way for the Servants to enter the Garden of the Master of the Universe). It is a well-known Sufi text taught in the Pesantren and was highly recommended by Kyai Hāshim Ashʿari. It consists of two volumes of more than five hundred pages each.

As "the people of the Way", the Kyai are very much concerned with the teachings of the Prophet, who spoke of religion as comprised of the three elements of islām, īmān and ihsān, the first of which has given its name to the religious tradition itself. Everyone who accepts this religion and surrenders himself to the Divine Will is called muslim but not every Muslim is a mu'min (believer). Imān is a stronger degree of participation in the religion implying intense faith and attachment to God. As for ihsān it is an even more profound penetration into the heart of revelation through the possession of that "virtue" which is not given to all.

Imān is essentially faith in the Divine Presence and Islām is submission to the Divine Will. Ihsān operates upon these two fundamental elements of the religion and transforms them into what is known as Tasawwuf (Sufism).[17] The following excerpt from Kyai Syamsuri's sermon on Friday 28 April 1978 may illustrate the Kyai's "understanding" of these three elements of Islām. He explained that there were three gradual stages in the apprehension of tawhīd (the unity of God) among the Muslims. First, tawhīd zindiq, that is the tawhīd of a Muslim who pronounces the basic Muslim creed without being fully involved in the teachings of tawhīd. Second, tawhid mu'min, that is the tawhīd of a Muslim who has a stronger degree of participation in

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[17] On Islām, imān and ihsān, see S.H. Nasr 1975 : 133-4.

Islām implying intense faith and attachment to God. Third, tawhid siddīqīn, that is the tawhīd of a Muslim whose primary concern is to serve God, but who still enjoys his worldly life. Fourth, tawhīd muqarrabīn, that is the tawhīd of the "protégé" of God, the Muslim saint whose only concern is to serve God. Such a "protege" abandons his interest in worldly life. Kyai Syamsuri suggested that God will punish Muslims of the first category, but they will not stay in Hell forever. Muslims of the second category have pleased God for their intensive participation in religious duties, and they are entitled to live in the Heaven. Better conditions in Heaven are provided for the Muslims of the third category, while the best of all are provided for Muslim saints. Kyai Syamsuri also urged the participants in the Friday sermons to try hard to reach the third stage of tawhīd. He explained that to achieve this stage we have not only to intensify our performances of religious rituals but, more important, intensify our performances in muʿāmalah (social obligations). He suggested that those who intensify their performances of religious rituals, such as recommended prayers, dhikir and recommended fasting but do not fulfill their social duties such as zakat (alms), ʿamal jāriyah (feeding the poor and orphans), such men are like trees that do not produce fruits. Kyai Syamsuri asserted that those who perform

obligatory rituals and fulfill their social duties but do not perform recommended prayers and rituals are still better Muslims than those Muslims who neglect their social duties but perform their obligatory and recommended prayers. This means that imān and ihsān are even for members of tarekat orders concerned with the scrupulous observance of the sharīʿah in both ritual and social matters.

The Kyai identify ihsān with sincerity (ikhlās) in religion. To possess this sincerity is to make one's religion central and to try to penetrate its inner meaning. Kyai ʿAbdul Jalīl (1963 : 28-29) classifies ikhlās into three categories. First, the lowest level of ikhlās, that is the ikhlās of a Muslim who sincerely performs religious duties and expects God will reward him with a better life in this world and in the Hereafter. Second is the ikhlās of a Muslim who sincerely performs his religious duties and expects that God will give him a better life in Heaven without expecting reward from God in this world. Third is the ikhlās of a Muslim who does not expect any reward from God. His goal in performing religious rituals is solely to experience the nearness of God. The essence of ikhlās according to Kyai ʿAbdul Jalīl is to perform religious duties in sincere devotion to God. He contrasts ikhlās with riya' which

means performing religious duties so that people will pay respect; riya' thus means performing religious duties to win the heart of the people, and is a disastrous impediment to the goal of experiencing the nearness of God. This does not mean, however, that it is better to perform religious duties in solitude. Kyai Adlan 'Ali in his Friday sermon on 31 March 1978 argued that God gave a reward twenty-seven times greater for obligatory prayers performed collectively than for prayers performed individually. Collective prayers, however, must be performed sincerely and only for the sake of God, not because of social duty.

The Kyai stress the importance of prayer and dhikir as an essential technique of the spiritual way. Prayer and dhikir are essentially the remembrance and invocation of God which transforms man's real nature into a servant of God but at the same time draws him closer to God. Within the tarekat tradition, "being the closest servant" of God is the highest expectation.[18]

[18] I asked many Kyai about the following controversial verses of the Qur'an:
(a) "Do the Kyai suggest that 'Return unto thy Lord' (Qur'an 89:27) means that we will be united with God?". "No, we believe that 'Return unto thy Lord' means 'Come closer to Me or take a place beside Me".
(b) God said: "...Prostrate yourselves before Adam, they fell prostrate, all save Iblis. He demurred through pride, and so became a disbeliever" (Qur'an 2:34). Does this verse show that Adam had, in fact, a godly status?". "No. The Kyai do not translate "fasjud" as "prostrate". Fasjud just simply means "Pay respect to Adam".
(c) "It is said: 'He who knows himself, knows God'. What do the Kyai think". "This teaches us to know ourselves better as the servant of God. We must know our limitations. We will understand, then, the greatness of God".

There are many verses of the Qur'an instructing men to invoke the Name of God. Man is, in fact, guaranteed in the Qur'an that this is the means to approach God, for the Qur'an asserts : "Therefore remember Me, I will remember you" (2 : 152). Likewise, there are many Hadiths concerning the importance of invocation.

The Kyai regard tarekat as inseparable from Islamic Law and Dogma. In my interview with Kyai Syamsuri (9 March 1978) he claimed that the Kyai follow the Malikite tradition which says : "He who learns jurisprudence and neglects Sufism becomes a reprobate; he who learns Sufism and neglects jurisprudence becomes an apostate; and he who combines both attains the realization of the Truth".[19] Kyai Syamsuri also suggested that tarekat practices are not prescribed exclusively for mature people. Tarekat, for Kyai Syamsuri, is essentially moral, ethical and religious training which must be practised by every Muslim, old and young, educated and uneducated. He agreed that there are doctrinal aspects of tarekat which cannot be taught to immature students. In fact, the teachings of Sufism within the pesantren tradition are prescribed for mature students. The Kyai are selective in the use of Sufi texts in pesantren; most of them are excerpts or compilations from the works of

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[19] See also S.H. Nasr (1966 : 125).

Ghazali.[20] The study of Ghazali's Ihyā' al- ʿUlum al-Dīn is regarded in most pesantren as the most important achievement for the students. This book is a detailed examination of worship, social customs, and of the vices and virtues leading to salvation. Following Ghazali, the Kyai lay great emphasis on the observance of the outward form of religious activities. They believe that the consummation of Sufism is impossible if associated with a neglect of formal observance. At the same time they insist that an understanding of the religio-social ethics of Islām necessitates an adherence to its spiritual aspects (see ʿAbdul Jalīl 1963 : 20-31).

THE TEBUIRENG PESANTREN AND TAREKAT ORDERS

I have shown in Chapter IV, that the students of Pesantren Tebuireng were collectively engaged, under the guidance of the Kyai, in the devotional exercise of dhikir. I also suggested that the forms of dhikir exercises and the formulae of the divine names recited by the Kyai and students in Pesantren Tebuireng were very similar to those practised by the members of the Tarekat Qādiriyyah wa'l Naqshabandiyyah. In this manner, it is logical to assume that Pesantren Tebuireng has an intimate relationship with Tarekat Qādiriyyah wa'l

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[20] See the list of Sufi texts taught in the Pesantren Tebuireng in Appendix II.

Naqshabandiyyah. This is not to say, however, that Kyai of Pesantren Tebuireng maintain the notion that intimate personal intercourse with God is attainable other than by the "ways" of a tarekat order; but by means of these orders men can make spiritual progress with the help of the murshids (tarekat leaders). The leaders of the Pesantren Tebuireng acknowledge the worth of the orders, but at the same time concede to the men of learning that,

> It is indeed, one fāqih (a learned man in Islamic Jurisprudence) who is wiraʿi, frightens Satan more than a thousand ʿabid (adorers) (Zarnuji 1963 : 18).

Hadratus-Shaikh, during his life, was the most emphatic in his warning against false and degenerate leaders of tarekat orders. A quote from Hadratus-Shaikh's al-Nahyu ʿan Muqātaʿah al-Arhām (Prohibition on breaking the Relationships with Friends) illustrates his point,

> "There was a learned ʿulamā'[21] who had frequently made the pilgrimage to Mecca. After some years of study with a learned shaikh in Mecca, he was permitted to establish a branch of the Tarekat Qadiriyyah wa'l Naqshabandiyyah in Jombang. After some years' preaching, he became famous and attracted thousands of students. However, he then changed. He rarely went to the mosque to lead Friday and communal daily prayers. He also became easily displeased and resentful. He did not go out much to meet people. All these things were done to impress upon people that he was a wali (saint). However, when a bupati (regent) came to see him to ask his "blessing", this ʿulamā' enthusiastically gave the bupati certain formulae of dhikir "to preserve his position as the bupati". In return, the bupati presented him with valuable gifts.

[21] This ʿulamā' was Kyai Khalil, and is examined on p. 284 ff.

"When people reported all this information to me, I came to see this ʿulamāʾ. At first, his wife met me at the door telling me that her husband did not want to see me. I told her that I was Hāshim Ashʿari and would like to give her husband some advice. She let me in and I met her husband. I told him that he had deviated from the true teachings of the tarekat. "My dear friend, you are supposed to be humble and kind, especially to ordinary people. You are also supposed to keep away from the government officials to avoid suspicion from the people. Now you have done all these and I believe that you have been cheated by Satan".

"A month later, this ʿulamāʾ came to see me and thanked me for my advice. He had realized his mistakes and wished sincerely to follow the teachings of the Tarekat" (Hāshim Ashʿari, n.d. 9-11).

It would, however, be mistaken to assert that Hadratus-Shaikh was, in general, hostile to the tarekat orders. Certainly he was displeased when his pupils, while still young and before they have attained any degree of knowledge, joined a tarekat order, for this generally interfered with their studies. Kyai Adlan ʿAli and Kyai Mansur Anwar, the present leaders of the Tarekat Qādiriyyah wa'l Naqshabandiyyah in Tebuireng, for example, were not permitted to join the tarekat when both asked Hadratus-Shaikh's permission in the 1930's.[22] He, indeed, encouraged learned pupils to join a tarekat order, but insisted on the importance of a careful choice before one entrusted one's highest treasure to the murshid (Hāshim Ashʿari 1940 : ibid). He did not elaborate what he considered

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22 Personal interview with Kyai Mahfuz Anwar on 17 February 1978.

to constitute error. However, we may assume that, those who have gained knowledge in Islamic Jurisprudence and Theology will not blindly follow their murshid; they will be able to consider whether their murshid is right or wrong. Moreover, Hadratus-Shaikh also suggested that, for those who wanted to join a tarekat, they had to consult as many people as possible concerning the reputation of the murshid they wanted to choose (Hashim Ash'ari 1940 : 22-24). In this manner, a novice will not fall under the guidance of a "false" murshid.

It is sometimes said that Hadratus-Shaikh tried to prevent the simple villagers from joining the tarekat orders. This is an unusual assertion because the tarekat orders are deeply rooted in the religious life of the majority of the followers of Islam in Java.

It is clear, however, that Hadratus-Shaikh gave permission to Kyai Romly[23] to succeed Kyai Khalīl as head of the Tarekat Qādiriyyah wa'l Naqshabandiyyah in Rejoso Jombang. The thousands of followers of this tarekat were mostly illiterate Muslims. Hadratus-Shaikh, however, instructed Kyai Romly to continue to increase the knowledge of Islamic Jurisprudence and Theology among tarekat members, and be selective in the choice of Sufi texts taught in Kyai Romly's pesantren. This suggests that Hadratus-

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[23] The role of this Kyai is examined on page 284 ff.

Shaikh was aware that the majority of Muslim villagers who did not have sufficient education needed proper leadership to attain the goals set by the exercises of the respected Sufi teachers. The implication is that, from Hadratus-Shaikh's standpoint, Sufi teachers themselves must be careful to see that their followers hold to the strict performance of their religious duties. In fact, the establishment of the Tarekat Qādiriyyah wa'l Naqshabandiyyah in Tebuireng in January 1978 was aimed at providing a respected Sufi order for illiterate Muslims in East Java.

THE TAREKAT QADIRIYYAH WA'L NAQSHABANDIYYAH IN TEBUIRENG

In the Diagram V , I showed that almost all influential leaders of the Tarekat Qādiriyyah wa'l Naqshabandiyyah in East and Central Java were graduates of the Pesantren Tebuireng, although the Pesantren itself has become the centre of the Tarekat only since January 1978. I have pointed out in this chapter that the Tarekat Qādiriyyah wa'l Naqshabandiyyah is the most powerful and most widely spread tarekat order in Java. This means that the Pesantren has controlled and indirectly provided the leadership of the Tarekat. In fact, the establishment of the Tarekat in the Pesantren in January 1978 was only a further step towards holding a direct leadership of the Tarekat in East Java.

The original founder of the Tarekat was Kyai Khalīl. He was born in Pare, Kediri. In the early 1900's, he went to the Pesantren Rejoso in Jombang, and was taken as son-in-law by the founder, Kyai Tamīm, and after that became the most important lecturer at the Pesantren Rejoso. In the late 1910's, Kyai Khalīl spent some years in Mecca, studying Sufism, and joined the Tarekat Qādiriyyah wa'l Naqshabandiyyah under the instruction of Kyai Ahmad Hasbullāh bin Muhammad, the disciple of Shaikh 'Abdul Karīm. Upon his return to the Pesantren Rejoso in the early 1920's, Kyai Khalīl established a branch of the Tarekat and thereafter gained thousands of followers (Hashim Ash'ari, n.d. : 10-11). Kyai Khalīl was under a careful control of Hadratus-Shaikh when the former abused his popularity (power) as the leader of the Tarekat.[24]

When Kyai Khalīl died in the 1930's, Hadratus-Shaikh let Kyai Romly succeed as leader of the Tarekat. Kyai Romly was the son of Kyai Tamīm and studied most of his life under the instruction of Hadratus-Shaikh. Hadratus-Shaikh also took Kyai Romly as son-in-law, and when this marriage ended in divorce, Hadratus-Shaikh married Kyai Romly to one of the nieces of Hadratus-Shaikh's wife. Hadratus-Shaikh exerted

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[24] The ʿulamā' who was "checked" by Hadratus-Shaikh on page 280 was, in fact, Kyai Khalil.

even greater control over Kyai Romly by restricting the number of Sufi texts taught to Kyai Romly's students.

Under the leadership of Kyai Romly, the Tarekat attracted tens of thousands of followers from most areas of East Java. This was due to the organizational abilities of Kyai Romly and the support from Hadratus-Shaikh. Hadratus-Shaikh's support was given through his permission to his students to become khalīfah or badal murshid (representatives) of Kyai Romly in organising and recruiting mass followers in various regions in East Java. One of these khalīfah was Kyai Adlan 'Ali, the present Director of the Kyai Council of Pesantren Tebuireng.

When Kyai Romly died in 1958, his son, Kyai Musta'in, succeeded him as the leader of the Tarekat. Kyai Musta'in was taken as a son-in-law by Kyai Wahab Hasbullah, who at that time was President of the Law Council of Nahdatul 'Ulamā'. Consequently Kyai Musta'in received immense support from the Kyai in East Java to extend his influence as the leader of the Tarekat Qādiriyyah wa'l Naqshabandiyyah. In the National Congress of the Jam'iyyah Thoriqoh Mu'tabarah in Madiun in August 1975, Kyai Musta'in was elected as the General Chairman of the Jam'iyyah. Then, however, Kyai Musta'in established a relationship with Golkar (the Government Party). He was rewarded with ten hectares of land in Jombang and with money with which

he built a three storey building for his university, Dār al- ʿUlūm (The House of Knowledge). In return, Kyai Mustaʿin supported and campaigned for the Golkar Party during the 1977 General Election.

Kyai Mustaʿin justifies his support for Golkar by arguing that pesantren institutions of contemporary Java need financial support from the government. Contributions from the community alone can no longer support the financial need of most pesantren which have developed into larger educational institutions. "You see", he assured me, "even Pesantren Tebuireng frequently receives financial support from the government. It is logical, then, that we have to support the government policy; and this must be expressed in our sympathy to the government party in the general election". Kyai Mustaʿin also suggests that public funds are now almost entirely controlled by the government. Unless the Muslim leaders support the government, they will not be able to receive a share of these public funds to support their Islamic educational institutions.[25]

The Kyai reaction to Kyai Mustaʿin Romly was straightforward. He was regarded as abusing his position as the General Chairman of the Jamʿiyyah and as an influential leader of the Tarekat for personal material benefit. From July 1977 on, the Kyai

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[25] Personal interview with Kyai Mustaʿin Romly on 12 April 1978.

encouraged Kyai Adlan ʿAli to take over Kyai Mustaʿin Romly's leadership of the Tarekat.

From the religious point of view, the Kyai decided that it was compulsory for members of a tarekat order to leave their murshid if the murshid committed an illegal act (prohibited by the sharīʿah); for example, if he used his disciples for gaining wealth. This decision was implicitly directed towards Mustaʿin Romly, and will be discussed in detail in Chapter VII.

Kyai Adlan ʿAli joined the Tarekat in the 1940's. His interest in the Tarekat started when he was still a student of Hadratus-Shaikh. Originally when he asked Hadratus-Shaikh's permission to join the Tarekat in the 1930's he was advised to wait until he finished his studies with Hadratus-Shaikh. When Kyai Adlan at last became a member of the Tarekat, he was appointed by Kyai Romly, the leader of the Tarekat, as Kyai Romly's representative. During the period of Kyai Romly's leadership from the 1930 to 1958, Kyai Romly appointed four first-rank <u>badal murshid</u>, namely : Kyai Adlan ʿAli, Kyai Mansur Anwar (the leader of the Pesantren Paculgowang in Jombang), Kyai Muhdar (a teacher of the Pesantren Rejoso in Jombang), and Kyai Makky (a member of the Executive Committee of Nahdatul ʿUlamā' in Jombang who is now in charge of managing tarekat

orders). All of them were the students of Hadratus-Shaikh. Kyai Romly also appointed about 80 second- and third-rank badal murshid to organize followers in the regions. Sixty four of them were Tebuireng graduates. It is clear, then, that Kyai Romly relied heavily on Tebuireng graduates to support his leadership of the Tarekat Qādiriyyah wa'l Naqshabandiyyah. In effect, Kyai Romly based his leadership on the support of Pesantren Tebuireng. Since the Pesantren is the main headquarters of the Javanese Kyai and its Association, Nahdatul ʿUlamā', it is clear then, that Kyai Mustaʿin's switch to support Golkar could only result in the loss of support from Pesantren Tebuireng. This was clearly expressed in the establishment of the Tarekat Qādiriyyah wa'l Naqshabandiyyah in the Pesantren Tebuireng in January 1978 with Kyai Adlan ʿAli as its leader. Kyai Mansur Anwar, Kyai Muhdar, Kyai Makky and the sixty four badal murshid have now become the representatives of Kyai Adlan ʿAli. With the loss of his important staff, Kyai Mustaʿin lost his influence as a tarekat leader. As a result, about seventy-five per cent of his followers in the regions who were led by Tebuireng graduates have become followers of Kyai Adlan. Furthermore, the Jamʿiyyah Thoriqoh Muʿtabarah was renamed as Tarekat Muʿtabarah Nahdiyyīn in the 1979 National Congress of NU in Semarang thus automatically

placing Kyai Musta'in Romly, formerly the General Chairman of the Jam'iyyah, outside the Tarekat Mu'tabarah Nahdiyyīn.

Kyai Adlan 'Ali began to lead his own followers, independently of Kyai Musta'in in May 1977 when Kyai Musta'in declared himself a supporter of the Golkar. Since Kyai Adlan's *ijāzah al-tabarruk* (diploma testifying to a holder's link with a tarekat founder) from Kyai Romly did not explicitly give Kyai Adlan authority to practise full leadership in the name of the master, Kyai Adlan swore *bai'ah* (a vow of allegiance) to Kyai Muslih 'Abdurrahmān, the leader of the Tarekat Qādiriyyah wa'l Naqshabandiyyah of Mranggen, Semarang, Central Java, and in early June 1977, was given authority by Kyai Muslih to be a *guru murshid* (a full tarekat leader).[26]

When Kyai Adlan served as the representative of the Rejoso Tarekat between 1957 and 1977, he had 52 followers. This number rose to about 1,500 in November 1977 when many other *badal murshid* of the Rejoso Tarekat swore *bai'ah* to him. In early December 1977 preparation for first general assembly to be held

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[26] There are three types of *ijāzah* (licence) given by a murshid to his disciples. The first is that given to a mature adept as a new *guru murshid*; the second is given to a *khalīfa* (representative) authorizing him to lead daily or weekly gatherings but not to recruit new follower; the third type simply affirms that the holder has followed a particular course of tarekat instruction.

on 16 January 1978 was organized. The Executive Committee of the assembly, supported by the Jombang Branch of NU , invited most of the badal murshid of the Rejoso Tarekat in Kediri, Kertasana, Nganjuk, Mojokerto, Surabaya and Malang, to vow allegiance to the Tebuireng Tarekat and to join the first general assembly on 16 January 1978. About 5,000 followers of the Tarekat participated in this assembly, and about 10,000 villagers from the surrounding villages came to listen to the speeches.[27]

THE WEEKLY GATHERING

The Tarekat organizes a weekly gathering between 11 a.m. and 5 p.m. on Mondays. The meeting is held in a mosque outside Pesantren Tebuireng, about 50 metres from the pesantren complex. This weekly gathering is attended by about 800 members, who come from surrounding villages close to the Pesantren complex. Other badal murshid who live far from Tebuireng organize their own weekly gathering for their followers in their particular regions.

The activities that take place between 11 a.m. and 5 p.m. can be classified into three categories : First come religious courses (mostly on Islamic Jurisprudence) and discussions on public matters from 11 a.m. to 1.30 p.m. There are usually four speakers on

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[27] The speeches were given between 9 p.m. and 12 p.m. The assembly started at 4 p.m. with the 'asar prayer, followed by the dhikir until 4.30. No prescribed activities were carried out until the maghrib prayer which was held at 6.15 and followed by a longer dhikir and do'a ending with the 'isha' prayer at 7 p.m. The 'isha' was also followed by the dhikir and do'a.

this program, namely : Kyai Mansur Anwar, Kyai Muhdar, Kyai Makky and Kyai Ali Ahmad. The main aim of this program is to increase the religious knowledge of the Tarekat members, and to inform them of certain public issues. The following speech given by Kyai Muhdar on 9 March 1978 is a good example :

> Ladies and Gentlemen, in one more week the Consultative Assembly (Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat) will conduct its General Meeting to elect our President and to determine the Guidelines of Government Policy (Garis-Garis Besar Raluan Negara). In this General Meeting the MPR will discuss various important problems. One of them is the Government policy towards aliran-aliran kepercayaan.[28] Let

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[28] The term aliran literally means "stream", kepercayaan means "belief". When the Kyai talk about the aliran-aliran kepercayaan, they refer to mystical groups in Java which base their religious teachings on indigenous (Javanese) sources. They are also commonly called kelompok kebatinan. (Kelompok means "group", and the word kebatinan derives from the Arabic word "batin" which means "inner". Rahmat Subagyo (1973) lists 288 specific groups practising kebatinan throughout Indonesia. Kebatinan followers do not align themselves with any particular religious dogma; the aliran are open to Muslim, Christian, Buddhist, and Hindu members alike. Kebatinan leaders, rather, consider themselves to be purveyors of a spiritual way of life. The common point for all the kebatinan schools, however, seems to be the belief in the existence of some supernatural power which controls and guides man's affairs and destiny. Contact in some form can be achieved with this superconscious, and this nearness can enrich man's life on earth. Some of the more well-known groups of these aliran-aliran kepercayaan are : Subud (Susilo Budi Dharmo), Sapto Darmo, Paguyuban Sumarah, Paguyuban Ngesti Tunggal (Pangestu), and the Gerakan Rakyat Indonesia (Gerindo).

There has been constant tension between members of the aliran-aliran kepercayaan and the larger Muslim community which surrounds them. This tension reached its peak in March, 1978 when the Consultative Assembly at its General Meeting considered the position of these aliran-aliran kepercayaan in the religious life of the Indonesian community as a whole. As it is clear from my quote of Kyai Muhdar's speech on 9 March 1978, the Tarekat Qādiriyyah wa'l Naqshabandiyyah in Tebuireng was opposed to the idea of treating the aliran-aliran kepercayaan as a recognized religion.

> us pray to God that the MPR will not tolerate these aliran-aliran kepercayaan, for they do not follow the true teaching of Islam, that is the tauhid (the belief in the Oneness of God).

Next comes religious performances from 1.30 p.m. to 3 p.m. and from 4 to 5 p.m. The rituals performed in these periods are : recommended prayers, zuhur and ʿasar (obligatory) prayers, the dhikir and do'a.

The bai'ah of new members and advice on the religious practices given by Kyai Adlan 'Ali, the murshid, occurs from 3 to 4 p.m. The advice by Kyai Adlan ʿAli consists mainly of simple guidance for the new members. I had never heard him speak about the doctrinal aspects of the Tarekat. Here (from my fieldnotes) is an excerpt from Kyai Adlan's speech on 6 April 1978 :

> For all of you, my dear members of the Tarekat, especially those who have just given your Vow of allegiance, life in the world is only temporary. Indeed, our real and permanent life is in the Hereafter. Your main aim in joining this jama'ah (gatherings) is to perform tarekat, to perform religious rituals, to perform the dhikir, i.e. to remember as many of God's names as possible, so that we are well-prepared to face death. The advantage of your joining the tarekat is that you are trained to be engaged in the continuous performance of obligatory and recommended prayers, especially the dhikir. Continuous performance of the dhikir, even if it is done only 10 minutes after the five daily obligatory prayers, is rewarded by Allah. Dawam (continuity) in performing a recommended prayer once a day is much better than one thousand performances if you do them at once but only once a year.

This weekly religious gathering is not confined to the members of the Tarekat. I regularly participated in this gathering and found some non-members joined the obligatory prayers although they did not join the prescribed dhikir. The mosque is also provided with a loudspeaker which helps to amplify the speeches to reach an audience outside the mosque.

Most of the participants in the weekly gathering are older people, aged 40 or older. Female participants represent about 40 per cent. I did not have enough data to relate these people to young students in the pesantren institutions. One can assume that the Kyai have been maintaining the santri tradition and religious leadership through two main agencies. The first is the pesantren institutions which train the younger generation to become the elite of the Santri community, and the second is the tarekat orders which keep the Kyais' influence among the older generation. The case of Pesantren Tebuireng provides clear evidence that there is no difference between the Islam taught to young students in the pesantren complex and that taught to the members of tarekat orders because religious leadership of both is held by the same person, Kyai Adlan 'Ali, and assisted by staff who graduated from Pesantren

Tebuireng. Both are taught to become "the people of the Way" by scrupulously performing religious obligations, the ʿubūdiyyah (rituals) and muʿāmalah (social duties), and by intensifying the practice of recommended prayers and qanaʿah (austerety). All these practical aspects of tarekat taught to the students of pesantren and members of Tarekt Qādiriyyah wa'l Naqshabandiyyah are parts of the ideology of Ahlissunnah wa'l Jamāʿah which will be discussed in the following chapter.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE IDEOLOGY OF AHLISSUNNAH WA'L JAMA'AH

In the preceding chapters I discussed the pesantren tradition as the Kyai's chief means of transmitting the traditional Islamic faith among the Javanese community. I have also shown that most Kyai pay special attention to a small number of students who are trained to become their successors. In this chapter, I will examine the general aspects of the ideology of ahlissunnah wa'l jamā'ah (which literally means "the followers of the Prophet's tradition and the consensus of the 'ulamā'"). The Kyai distinguish this ideology of modernist Islam.

In the introduction to NU's constitution Hadratus-Shaikh made this declaration to his followers,

> You, 'ulamā' and friends who are taqwā[1] to God, who follow the teachings of the 'ulama' of ahlissunah wa'l jamā'ah, who follow the teachings of the madhhab[2] of the four

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1 Taqwā is very hard to translate. It contains elements of faithfulness, respect, love, and fearfulness to God.

2 Madhhab (pl. madhābib) literally means school of thought. So far as Islamic Jurisprudence is concerned, four schools of thought, the Malikite, the Hanafite, the Shafi'ite, and the Hanbalite, have come to be recognized as equally authentic. During their early development it was permissible to consult the opinions of all the four schools, but for various reasons it has now become the rule to follow one particular school. This rule gradually came to be regarded as binding, and is called taqlid, which means "to adhere strictly to one of the four schools of Islamic Jurisprudence".

> Imam,[3] you are people who have received Islamic knowledge from the ʿulamā' of a previous generation. With great care you have chosen these ʿulama'. Whenever you have needed a teacher, you have selected him carefully; only with great consideration you have chosen him from whom you received knowledge. You are, then, the chosen ʿulamā' who hold the key to Islamic knowledge. Only to you do people turn to receive the wisdom of Islam (Hashim Ash'ari 1971 : 37).

Being themselves brought up in the strict discipline of the traditional Islamic ideology of the pesantren, the Javanese Kyai are strict defenders of Islamic conservatism. When the ideological reform advocated by the modernists, namely the abandonment of the madhhab, was introduced in Java in the early 1910's, they opposed the reform by organising a conservative movement in the Jamʿiyyah Nahḍatul ʿUlamā'.

The Javanese Kyai's preference for the traditional ideology of Islam is clearly shown by the texts taught in the pesantren, which - apart from various aspects of the study of Arabic - focus on the Shafi'ite madhhab and Sufism.[4]

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3 Imam literally means "leader" or "master". The four masters referred by Hadratus-Shaikh were the founders of the four recognized schools of jurisprudence. They were : (1) Abu Hanifa (d. 767), the founder of the Hanafite madhhab; (2) Malik ibn-Anas (d. 796), the founder of the Malikite madhhab; (3) Muhammad ibn-Idris al-Shafiʿi (d. 820), the founder of the Shafi'ite madhhab; and (4) Ahmad ibn-Hanbal (d. 855), the founder of the Hanbalite madhhab.

4 The texts taught in the pesantren throughout Java and Madura are similar. See, for example, the list of the texts taught in the Pesantren Al-Falah (Victory) in Bogor (in Prasodjo 1974 : 207-220), in the Pesantren Darul ʿUlum (The House of Knowledge), Rejoso in Jombang (in Madjid 1977 : 54-66), and the list of the texts taught in the Pesantren Tebuireng in Appendix II.

It is generally assumed that "Ahlissunah wa'l Jamā'ah" are followers of the Sunni tradition as opposed to the followers of the Shi'a tradition[5] (see for example Nasr 1975 : 147-176), and Watt 1974 : 175). For the Javanese Kyai, however, Ahlissunah wa'l Jamā'ah implies more than an identification with the general Sunni tradition; rather it implies adherence to the following specific elements of this tradition :

1. One of the four madhābib in matters of Islamic Jurisprudence. In practice, however, Javanese Kyai are strict followers of the Shafi'ite madhhab;[6]
2. The teachings of Imam Abu Hasan al-Ash'ari and Imam Abu Mansur al-Maturidi in matters of Islamic

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5 Since the death of the Prophet Muhammad, the Muslim community has been broadly divided into two major groups, i.e. followers of the Sunni tradition and the followers of Shi'a tradition.

6 Shafi'ite madhhab is the School of Islamic Jurisprudence founded by Muhammad ibn-Idris al-Shafi'i (b. 767, d. 820). Growing up in the Hijaz, the home of the Ahl al-Hadith ("Traditionist movement"), he became a follower of Malik and then went to 'Iraq, where he was exposed to the legal reasoning of the 'Iraqi jurists. In the latter part of his life, in Egypt, where he could reformulate his legal opinions with detachment and rewrite his books, he founded a new school of law, the Shafi'ite madhhab, by synthesizing the Malikite and Hanafite schools. Al-Shafi'i's greatest achievement in the field of law lies in the founding of a new discipline, the study of usul fiqh ("the roots of law"), or, as we might say, the principles of jurisprudence. For al-Shafi'i these roots are four : the Qur'an, the Hadith, the Ijmā' (consensus of 'ulamā'), and Qiyas (analogical reasoning). (See Khadduri 1961 : 3-48, and Watt 1974 : 127-129). The Shafi'ite madhhab is particularly predominant in Egypt, Syria, the Hijaz, South Arabia, parts of the Persian Gulf, East Africa, the Malay Archipelago, Daghistan, and parts of Central Asia (Khadduri 1961 : 48).

Theology;[7]

3. The teachings of Imam Abu Qasim al-Junaid in matters of Sufism[8] (K.H. Bishri Musthafa 1967 : 19).

The Javanese Kyai, then, distinguish themselves from the modernists who do not follow the teachings of these particular Imam. In matters of Sufism, the modernists disapprove of all forms of tarekat which teach ascetism and the repetition of dhikir; Javanese Kyai, on the other hand, regard Sufism as an essential part of Islamic teachings that must be taught to mature students who have some advanced knowledge of Islam. They

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7 Imam Abu Hasan al-Ashʿari (b. 873, d. 935) is commonly regarded among his fellow Muslims as the founder of the Ashʿarite School of Theology which became the accepted standard of the Sunni theological doctrines. He wrote many books. The resumé of his doctrine can be found in his al-Ibānah ʿan Usul al-Diyānah (The Elucidation of Islam's Foundation) (see its translation by Klein 1967).

Imam Abu Mansur al-Maturidi (d. 944) was almost an exact contemporary of al-Ashʿari. Al-Ashʿari and al-Maturidi are often spoken of as the joint founders of Sunnite rational theology, and from what we possess of the works of these two men, it is clear that there is much justification for this idea (Watt 1974 : 187-189).

8 Imam Abu Qasim al-Junaid is commonly regarded among his fellow Sufists as the founder of the sober ("sahw") school of Sufism. He died in 910. The sober school of Sufism is the best-known and most celebrated of all Sufi doctrines, and all the Shaikh have adopted it, despite the fact that there is much difference in their sayings on the ethics of Sufism. Because he won the approval of orthodoxy as relatively "safe", al-Junaid comes to be regarded as "the Shaikh of the Way", the common ancestor of most subsequent mystical congregations; his inclusion in their genealogies was a guarantee of orthodoxy, for a sound isnad (chain) can support of multitude of heresies (see Trimingham 1971 : 4-5, and Rizvi 1978 : 54-57).

agree that it is dangerous to teach Sufism to immature students of Islam. In general they discourage young people from becoming involved with tarekat orders,[9] while they encourage middle-aged people, who have abandoned interest in achieving material gain, to join tarekat.

The modernists' disapproval of all forms of tarekat practices is mainly based on three considerations. First, the practice of dhikir and wirid by the tarekat followers is regarded as too excessive. This results in negligence by the followers of worldly interests, and subsequently leads to indifference toward progress made by the outside world (Noer 1973 : 303). However, the modernists' attack disregards the fact that the practice of the tarekat orders is only advocated for middle-aged people, who have abandoned interest in achieving material gain. Second, many tarekat teachers and followers often fall into practices which are close to shirik (heresy), associating God with beings and objects; they venerate keramat (shrines, graves of saints), give offerings to spirits, and use azimat or charms for protection from evil spirits or bad luck. The fact is, however, that Kyai (see Hashim Ash'ari 1937, 1974, 1978) strongly combat such practices. Third, the practice of dhikir through tawassul (in which the students should think of God

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9 See Hashim Ash'ari (1940 : 20-22), and see also note 14 in Chapter VII.

by remembering their teachers) is thought by the modernists to be a kind of mediumship which is contrary to the teachings of Islam. The Kyai, however, believe that tawassul is not a kind of mediumship because the students address the dhikir and wirid directly to God. The position of the teacher can be compared to a pair of spectacles which help the eyesight of the students.[10]

The modernists argue that to understand and perform pure Islamic teachings, we must rely directly to the Qur'an and Hadith. The Kyai, however, maintain that the accompanying compendia of interpretation that have grown up around the Qur'an and Hadith and have been developed by particular Imams and their leading followers over the centuries are secondary sources[11] which cannot be neglected. Taking the accompanying compendia as further sources of Islamic teachings does not mean that they neglect the Qur'an and Hadith as primary sources.[12] The Kyai, however, suggest that the Qur'an and Hadith are phrased in a

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[10]See Kyai Bishri Musthafa 1967:52, and Mujeeb 1969:124.

[11]The stress is mine.

[12]According to the Shafi'ite principles of jurisprudence, the Qur'an is given the primary place and the Hadith is elevated to become an aspect of the Shariʿah or revelation. Although these general principles are thus made clear, the matter remains one of great complexity, since all sorts of apparent contradictions have to be ironed out in a systematic fashion. Thus according to al-Shafiʿi, the consensus of ʿulamā' is allowed as a "root" and some reasoning (ijtihad al-ra'y) is necessary, but the reasoning must be confined to strict analogy (see Watt 1974: 128-129).

"difficult" language full of symbolism which can be more clearly understood by those who are "knowledgeable" (K.H. Saifuddin Zuhri 1979). They are, first of all the Prophet Muhammad himself, and then his sahabat (companions), the tābiʿīn (followers of the sahabat), al-tābiʿ al-tābiʿīn (followers of the followers) and the leading ʿulamā' of subsequent generations.[13] Muhammad as the recipient of God's revelations was the most knowledgeable of all. The sahabat since they were close to Muhammad understood the Qur'an better than non-sahabat of their generation, and so did the tābiʿīn, al-tābiʿ al-tābiʿīn and the leading ʿulamā' of the following generations.

> In practising the Sharīʿah (the teachings of Islam) the sahabat followed the Prophet, the tābiʿīn followed the sahabat, the tābiʿ al-tābiʿīn followed the tābiʿīn. Every generation, then, follows the previous generations. This is the best and only system because Islamic teachings cannot be understood without the transmission of the previous generations, and without taking examples or practices of the previous generations (Hāshim Ashʿari 1971 : 53).

This is the reason for consulting the authoritative texts or accepted standards of the madhhab. This does not mean that the Kyai are content to maintain a condition

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[13] This is analogous to the Protestant - Catholic differences on the role of tradition which is upheld by the Catholics versus individual interpretation of the Bible which is upheld by the Protestants. When Luther found less comfort for quieting a distressed conscience in the traditional medieval scholasticism and the monastic methods, he was more inclined to follow the advice of Staupitz to lay aside the theological commentaries and study the Bible (see Grimm 1954 : 98).

of jumud (inertia) because they are content with traditional methods and practices; nor do they wish to show an indifference to the progress made by the outside world, as the modernists claim. The Kyai argue that,

> ... progress must not be achieved through an abandonment of the correct religious traditions; it is quite dangerous to interpret the Qur'an and the Hadith according to individual personal reasoning.[14]

Their insistence on consulting the texts of the madhhab is not simply a matter of whether or not present-day Muslim scholars are allowed to practise ijtihād, i.e. the right of individual interpretation and judgement of the Qur'an and the Hadith as the modernists have stressed.

According to the Kyai, the chain of this transmission cannot be cut. What we can do is to find the best and the most valid interpretative link in this chain in each generation.

The reliance on the valid transmitters does not mean that the ʿulamās' words and opinions are followed blindly and without question. The modernists suggest that the Kyai defend the taqlid as an ideal way of practising religious duties. Both the modernists and the traditionalists agree on the term of taqlid, that is to follow the opinions of an authoritative

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[14] Personal interview with Kyai Adlan ʿAli on 17 January 1978.

ʿulamā' without investigating the sources taken by the ʿulamā' to support their opinions. The modernists, however, are mistaken when they assert that the traditionalist ʿulama' encourage the taqlid buta (blind obedience).[15] This is not the case. The Kyai always encourage their followers to study the Sharīʿah from the authoritative sources as deeply as possible (K.H. ʿAbdullah Siddīq 1979 : 36). And those who reach a high qualification in matters of Islamic law are not allowed to practise taqlid (K.H. Bishri Musthafa 1967 : 26-27). For laymen, however, it is safe to practise taqlid (ibid).

The view of the Kyai over the centuries has been that giving opinion on problems of the Sharīʿah should be the function of authoritative ʿulama', who alone are well-versed in the science of Islamic law. The sciences connected with the Shari'ah are complex and require study before anyone can claim to be an authority in them. This is not to say that the ʿulamā' disregard public opinion in giving their opinion. In fact the concept of ijmaʿ (the consensus of the Islamic scholars on some point of the Law)[16] has always implied the consensus of those qualified in

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15 Examine the version of the modernists concerning the term taqlid in Deliar Noer (1973 : 9-10, 15).

16 Ijmaʿ is considered as the third valid source of Islamic Law after the Qur'an and Hadith by the Kyai but not by the modernists, who are in favour of individual interpretation.

matters of Law combined with an inner interaction with the whole of the community, the results of which are felt only gradually.

For those who are qualified to practise ijtihād al-ra'y (meaning literally "opinion" or "personal effort in forming an opinion") this should be done as follows : First of all, through an investigation of the opinions of the authoritative ʿulamā'; secondly, through private discussions with other qualified ʿulamā', and lastly, through discussions on questions of Islamic Law organized by the ʿulamā' and open to the public. Given the importance of these methods in the religious life of the Javanese Kyai, I will illustrate an actual practice of these methods, excerpted from my fieldnotes.

In Jombang, East Java, under the leadership of graduate students of Hadratus-Shaikh, the ʿulamā' have established the "Majlis Imaroh ʿUlamā' Jombang" (the Joint Council of ʿUlamā') led by Kyai Maji Muhammad Bishri Shamsuri,[17] the Ro'is ʿĀmm (General Chairman) of the Shuriyah (Religious Law) of the JamʿIyyah Nahdatul ʿUlamā', which extends its branches throughout villages in Jombang.

This Majlis organises a meeting once a month to answer questions on masā'il dīniyyah (questions on Islamic Law) submitted by the public. I attended

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[17] Kyai Haji Muhammad Bishri Shamsuri died on 24 April 1980.

their meeting at 9 a.m. on Sunday, 19 February 1978, in Masjid Utara Jombang (North Jombang Mosque). Among the Kyai present were : Kyai Bishri Shamsuri, Adlan ʿAli, Shamsuri Badawi, Mahfuz Anwar, Mansur Anwar, Mukhdar, ʿAziz Mashuri, Makki, Baihaqi, and some fifteen lesser ranking Kyai. About two hundred people were present to listen to the debate of these Kyai. Among the questions discussed were :

(1) Is a Muslim allowed to regard religions other than Islam as correct religions?
This question was sent by Kyai Wahib Wahab (former Minister of Religious Affairs 1959-1960) of Bandung.

The answer was : No. Kyai Bishri quoted a verse of the Qur'an : "Decidedly the religion with Allah is Islam" (Qur'an 3 : 19).

(2) According to the Sharah Adhkiya' (a classical Islamic text), the ʿulama' who prefer working for the Government to teaching students are regarded as traitors to the Prophet. What do we think about our ʿulamā' who leave their pesantren to take posts in the Government Offices?
This question was sent by Kyai Saleh Darat Semarang.

The answer was that the Kyai agreed that the ʿulamā' should perform their duties to teach the students as confirmed by the Sharah Adhkiya'. An ʿulamā', however, was allowed to take a post in the Government for two reasons. First, if he was the only qualified person available for the post. Kyai Mahfuz then quoted a verse from the Qur'an which I failed to write it down. Second, if he appoints someone else to replace him as the teacher of the pesantren. Kyai Adlan ʿAli then supported Kyai Mahfuz, and no other Kyai raised an objection.

(3) There have been frequent requests from the public that the ʿulamāʾ should explain clearly the meaning of the first principle of the Pancasila "Ke-Tuhanan Yang Maha Esa". Does the belief in Oneness of God fit the Islamic belief in Allah?

This question was not answered in the meeting; and in the following two meetings which I attended, the Kyai were occupied by question number five.

(4) Who is responsible for forming the Badan ʿAmil Zakat? (Alms Committee Board). Are they entitled to receive alms?
This question was sent by a student of the Islamic Law Faculty, at the University of Hāshim Ashʿari at Jombang.

Kyai Bishri gave his answers as follows : The appointment of the personnel of the Alms Committee Board is the prerogative of the Ulil Amri (Government). The Members of Alms Committee Board are not entitled to receive alms. Alms must be given to the poor. Kyai Bishri defined the poor as those who did not have enough food and clothes for that day. Kyai Bishri did not quote any classical texts.

(5) There was a "Murshid" (Leader of a Tarekat Organization) who did not campaign for the Islamic Party in the 1977 General Election. Are his students allowed to leave him and swear an oath to another murshid? In ʿUmdah al-Salik (an Islamic text for members of Qadiriyyah and Naqshabandiyyah Tarekat) it was written that a murshid was an imam (leader) who should be followed by his students.
This question was sent by Kyai Imam Shafiʿi of Megaluh, Jombang, a badal murshid (representative teacher of a murshid).

The Kyai took one and a half months to answer this question. I will discuss this in detail later.

(6) Is it lawful (according to Islamic Law) to divorce a wife because of a Judge's ruling?

The answer was : that all ʿulamāʾ agree that a hakim agama (judge of a religious court) could only annul the marriage if there is an acceptable reason (according the Shariʿah).

(7) Some other questions submitted by local people of Jombang.

The questions are usually enclosed in the letters of invitation sent to the members of the Majlis Imaroh 'Ulamā' Jombang two weeks before the next meeting, so that the Kyai can prepare and consider the relevant answers in the accepted standard Shafi'ite texts. Most of the "easy"[18] questions could be answered in this meeting, which ended at one o'clock, in time to perform zuhur prayer. Some questions, which were probably considered sensitive such as numbers three and five, were postponed until the next monthly meeting.

We can see that some of the questions submitted by the public are concerned with contemporary problems faced by Muslim villagers who are being incorporated into the modern social and political life of Indonesia. To non-Islamic minds, it may be considered strange that social, political and personal relations are approached from the perspective of religious law. In fact, religion to a Kyai is

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[18] As it is clear from the above descriptions, the Kyai will directly refer to the Qur'an for an answer which is clearly shown by the Qur'an. Second, on questions for which answers cannot be easily found in the Qur'an but are not "serious" or "sensitive", the Kyai do not cite texts as sources although I believe that their answers are based on specific texts. Third, for questions which are "very sensitive" a more complicated method of answering the questions is applied. The need to refer the texts is more serious for such questions.

essentially the Divine Law which includes not only universal moral principles but details of how man should conduct his life and deal with God and his fellowman; how he should eat, procreate and sleep; how he should buy and sell at the market place; how he should pray and perform other acts of worship. It relates to all aspects of human life and contains, in its tenets, the guide for a Muslim to conduct his life in harmony with the Divine Will; it defines which acts and objects are, from the religious point of view, obligatory (wajib), which are meritorious or recommended (sunat), which are indifferent (mubah), which are inadviseable (makruh)[19] and which are forbidden (haram). Books on fiqh taught in the pesantren are Shafi-'ite. This means that the details of how the Kyai and their followers should conduct their life and deal with God and other men are those standardized by al-Shafi'i and his leading followers of the next generations. Thus the Kyais' ideology of Ahlissunnah wa'l jamā'ah contains a social, economic, political and religious ideology.

Question number five concerning tarekat membership which was raised in their meeting on

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[19]It is hard to find the equivalent of makruh in English. In the fiqh texts, it is generally explained as an act which is not recommended; if a Muslim does the act, he will not be punished; if he does not do it he will be rewarded. For the Javanese Kyai, however, observing wira'i, which means "refraining from shubhah" (every-thing which is not definitely allowed by the shari'ah) is absolutely required. Unless the Kyai avoids makruh and shubhah, he is not entitled to be followed (see Chapter III on Teacher-Student relationships, and Chapter VI on the definition of tarekat).

19 February 1978 is a good illustration. The political aspect of this question can be seen to have a religious content. This is expressed in the Declaration of Jombang ʿUlamā' in 1971 (see Dhofier 1976 : 33) which stated that it was as obligatory religious duty for every Muslim to vote for an Islamic Party in the General Election.[20] The Kyai's practice of ijmaʿ can also be illustrated by reference to question number five.[21]

On 26 February 1978 (a week after their monthly meeting), Kyai Bishri invited the five leading members of the Majlis Imaroh[22] to see him at his house. On this occasion,[23] he asked them to look into the development of the split between Tebuireng and Rejoso concerning the Qādiriyyah wa'l Naqshabandiyyah Tarekat.[24] He also ordered them to consider the opinion of the Shafiʿite ʿulamā' on the shariʿah position of leaving one murshid to become a

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[20] This statement may be difficult to understand by one not acquainted with the traditional way of life. This statement is, in fact, similar to a hadith which maintains that when a man works to feed his family he is performing an act of worship as if he were praying.

[21] Henceforth, this question will be called Question Number Five because of its significance.

[22] The Majlis : Kyai Adlan ʿAli, Mansur Anwar, Mahfuz Anwar, Mukhdar and Makki.

[23] I was also present in this meeting.

[24] See Chapter VI.

member of a different arekat with another murshid, without linking this question to the political affiliation of the murshid as raised by the question from the public.

For almost two months these Kyai weighted the opinions of the Shafi'ite 'ulamā', but, as Majeeb has stated, the 'ulamā', throughout the history of Islam have always had differences regarding the doctrines, practices, and interpretations of Islamic Law. However, these differences were not disagreements, but rather the inevitable result of efforts to make the sharī'ah of Islam complete in every respect. The absolute validity of the Qur'an and the Hadith as the source of the shari'ah is always assumed and has never been questioned. Classical texts are consulted if it is certain that the specific case under investigation is not explicitly dealt with in the Qur'an and the Hadith.

In the case mentioned above, the five Kyai could not find any explicit statements on the matter except a statement made by Ibnu Hajar al-Haitamy in his book "Al-Fatwa al-Hadithiyyah" :

> A murid (a follower of a tarekat order) is allowed to leave his murshid if the murshid is neither knowledgeable nor wise (tidak ahli dan tidak 'ārif) and can follow a different murshid who is knowledgeable and wise. Furthermore a murid has to leave his murshid if the murshid commits an illegal act (prohibited by the Sharī'ah); for example, if he uses his murid for gaining wealth.

On 5 April 1978, the five Kyai discussed this statement with Kyai Bishri. Disagreement emerged between Kyai Mahfuz and Mukhdar. Kyai Mukhdar suggested that, based on al-Haitamy's statement, a murid be allowed to leave his murshid if the murshid supported the Golkar Party and, in return, received money from the party. Kyai Mahfuz Anwar, however, disagreed with this formulation. Kyai Bishri supported Kyai Mahfuz in not making an explicit statement. Kyai Bishri suggested that al-Haitamy's statement should be announced without alteration at the monthly meeting of the Majlis in Gudo on 19 April 1978. Kyai Bishri believed that this formulation, since it was arrived at in relation to Question Number Five of the meeting on 19 February 1978, contained a _mafhum_ (understanding or interpretation) that the murshid mentioned in this particular question was unwise.

The answer provided an opportunity for a realistic co-ordination of religious law with existing fact. It is always possible, that the Kyai, although they follow one particular school of Islamic Jurisprudence (the Shafi'ite), have enough flexibility to adjust the religious law to existing social conditions. "Muslim Jurisprudence", as Mujeeb confirms, "... remained an extraneous element, envisaging conditions that were largely, if not entirely, hypothetical or irrelevant to the actual conditions

of life. It could not but be as rigid as any system which is purely logical is sure to become (Mujeeb 1969 : 59). Their strict acceptance of one particular school does not mean that they neglect the opinions of ʿulamā' from other schools. The Kyai, for example, are quite familar with, and regard Imam Maliki's teaching on the compulsory practice of Sufism as binding, i.e. "He who learns jurisprudence and neglects Sufism becomes reprobate; he who learns Sufism and neglects jurisprudence becomes an apostate; and he who combines both attains the realization of the truth".[25]

Another example of this is the following : In his Friday sermon on 17 February 1978 in the Pesantren Tebuireng, Kyai Adlan ʿAli quoted Imam Maliki's opinion encouraging the mosque neighbourhood to perform their five daily prayers in the mosque. This is also an indication that the Kyai permit one to consult the opinions of all the four schools; only, for various reasons, it became the rule to follow one particular school. This rule is regarded as binding, and is called taqlid. In other words, orthodoxy is regarded as strict adherence to one of the four schools of fiqh. The particular fiqh followed is naturally regarded as comprehending the manifold aspects of the

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[25] Kyai Shamsuri quoted this Imam Maliki's teaching on 29 January 1978 in my interview with him. The translation, however, is Nasr's 1966 : 125).

shariʿah (see Mujeeb 1969 : 57-58). The modernists in Indonesia reject the practice of taqlid in this sense. They suggest, instead, the practice of talfiq, i.e. to follow one particular school on a certain matter and follow another on another matter. The Kyai reject this unlimited practice of the talfiq; only, in some conditions, is the talfiq permissible.

For practical reasons, the Kyai suggest that it is more convenient to follow one particular school, because the feeling of being bound to a certain school can provide a more satisfactory point of reference. "We must be bound by certain limitations", Kyai Adlan ʿAli explained "otherwise we will be thrown into a jungle of systems of jurisprudence and we will not know which is the best to follow". He told me that every time he went to Saudi Arabia on the haj (he had performed haj five times) he took the Malakite school as his madhhab during his stay in Saudi Arabia because it was too hard to follow the Shafi'ite school in that country which has quite different social, cultural and geographical conditions compared to Indonesia. The Shaf'ite school is suitable for the Indonesian community in Indonesia while Malakite school is suitable for the Saudi Arabian community in Saudi Arabia.[26]

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[26] Personal interview with Kyai Adlan on 17 June 1978.

Most leading Kyai were trained in Mecca. During their years stay in Saudi Arabia, they were accustomed to different schools of thought and religious practices. Kyai Jauhari of Kencong, Jember, for example, told me that the Javanese Kyai in Mecca studied <u>al-Kashshāf</u> ("The Explorer") written by the Muʿtazilite ʿulamā', Zamakhshari, although the Kyai disagree with the theology of Zamakhshari. Apart from its theological aspect, <u>al-Kashshāf</u> is regarded by the Kyai as a good commentary of the Qur'an.[27] Kyai Idham Khalid contrasted Shafiʿi with another founder of madhhab, Hanbali. Shafiʿi was cautious, while Hanbali was not; Imam Hanbali's teaching was too uncompromising and unyielding. He also suggested that Shafiʿi's teachings are the best of all the four <u>madhābib</u> because Imam Shafi'i synthesized the Malakite and Hanafite schools (see Amak Fadhali 1969 : 14).

The Kyai, then, are not narrow-minded Islamic scholars who blindly follow one particular school without adjusting it to particular social and geographical conditions. It is not taqlid as taqlid, but taqlid to the Shafi'ite school as the best choice for their religious practices. Within the Shafi'ite system of jurisprudence, they believe it is always possible to make adaptations to actual circumstances.

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[27] Personal conversation with Kyai Jauhari on 14 April 1978.

Another important point to note in regard to the Kyai's answer on the status of the murshid raised in Question Number Five is the fact that the final decision was left to the general consensus of the public. The underlying conviction is that religion is best left to the consciences of ordinary intelligent believers. This is not to say that the Kyai do not take the initiative in and dominate the formation of the general consensus. Indeed the Kyai argue that the general public cannot be ignorant of the Qur'an and Hadith, and cannot agree on what is contrary to Sharīʿah or in error. The view of the Kyai over the centuries has been that giving opinion on problems of the Sharīʿah should be the function of the authoritative ʿulamā'. In giving their opinion, however, they cannot disregard public opinion.

This certainly conflicts very starkly with the view of Islamic modernists who do not accept consensus (ijmaʿ) as a "root" of the Sharīʿah. For the modernists, individual interpretation is allowed as a "root" of the Shari'ah, after the Qur'an and Hadith. This opens up the possibility of wide individual disagreement and makes it difficult to forge a general consensus.

Nahḍatul ʿUlamā' is the heir of the Kyai tradition and has preserved an astonishing measure of stability in the face of political opposition, for the

Kyai possess a highly developed social sense of and respect for tradition. The secret of the Kyai's success lies in their recognition that any social structure, if it is to be solidly based and elastic enough to meet disasters and crises, must rest on a general consensus, not on enforced consent or on complex organizations, and that a general consensus can only be built up by gradual stages over a period of many generations.[28] Within NU, religion is the most powerful instrument for forging a general consensus. Within NU, religious tradition then becomes so powerful a force that individual aberrations or partial movements of opposition are ineffectual in face of the mass. This is not to say that the conflict between "forging a general consensus" and "individual conscience" is absent within NU. I am aware that a proselytizing religion like Islam is always politically hierarchical. I am, however, stressing here that the "general consensus" within the Kyai socio-political system, is not simply an elite mythology. The Kyai's respect for the consciences of ordinary intelligent believers helps in fact to minimize the conflict between the "general consensus" and the "individual conscience". The Indonesian Government efforts to disrupt the internal

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[28] I am deeply in debt to Professor Gibb for his brilliant analysis on the contribution of ijma' to the strength of the Islamic traditions (Gibb 1947 : 15).

unity of NU by attracting some Kyai into the fold of the Golkar Party have not resulted in the disintegration of NU, but only the alienation of those Kyai from the mass of their followers in NU.

Moreover, within the ijma' system, the Kyai do not absolutely foreclose the right of individual interpretation of the Qur'an and Hadith. The ijma' 'ulamā' within ahlissunnah wa'l jamā'ah ideology is supplemented by al-qaul thāni or as it is sometimes called qaul pribadi, i.e. the opinion of a certain 'ulamā' which is different from the consensus of the 'ulamā'. The qaul pribadi, however, may not be practised publicly, because it may disrupt the general consensus; and it is even safe to assume that the qaul pribadi is well controlled by the stability of the community. Kyai Tahrir gave me an example of a qaul pribadi as follows: According to the ijma' 'ulamā' it is prohibited to sell the faeces of cows even if these faeces are used as fertilizer because according to the shari'ah, faeces are unclean (najis). Kyai Tahrir, however, suggested that both parties, the owner of the faeces and the user, negotiate the transaction not as a seller and a buyer, but under a labour contract in which the user of the fertilizer pays for the service of sending the fertilizer. So, the niat (inner intention) is not trading contract but a labour contract. "This", he said, "is, however a qaul pribadi and should not be practised publicly".[29]

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[29] Personal interview with Kyai Tahrir on 10 September 1978.

Are there fundamental differences in theology between those Kyai who base their interpretation of the Qur'an and the Hadith as interpreted by Imam Abu Hasan al-Ashʿari and Imam Abu Mansur al-Maturidi and those of the modernists, who base their theological argument solely on the Qur'an and the Hadith? The ʿulamā' of both factions always assert that there are no fundamental differences in theology between them. First, both believe in monotheism, that there is no God but Allah, and in Muhammad as His messenger. Second, both believe absolutely in Divine determinism (taqdir and qadar). Both the Kyai and the modernists believe that Islam emphasizes a complete confidence in God, reliance on His Will. However, both have different opinions in matters of the nature of human actions. The modernists believe that human beings are to some extent responsible for their own actions since God has given them the freedom to bear the responsibility of having to choose between good and bad conduct. In other words, human actions are the product of the human being.[30] The Kyai, on the contrary, believe that human actions are absolutely the product of God's Will. The modernists' reliance on God's Will means that God will reward good acts and punish bad acts,

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[30] Himpunan Putusan Majlis Tarjih Muhammadiyyah, text, p. 19, "Dengan demikian, maka segala ketentuan adalah dari Allah dan usaha adalah bagian manusia. Perbuatan manusia ditilik dari segi kuasanya dinamakan hasil usaha sendiri".

while the Kyai believe that God may or may not reward good acts and may or may not punish bad acts.[31]

Third, both also believe in the ākhirah (life in the Hereafter), that life in this world is only temporary while life in the Hereafter is true and eternal. Fourth, both believe in the "totalistic" concept of the role of religion in life.

In matters of Shari'ah both teach that only Muslims who (1) pronounce the two kalīmah shahādah, (2) perform five daily prayers, (3) pay alms, (4) fast during Ramadan, and (5) perform the pilgrimage or haj when they are able, can be regarded as faithful Muslims who will be granted a better life in Heaven.

There are however, differences in what are called soal-soal furu' (the details of Islamic teachings). This is understandable because Kyai accept as valid non-obligatory rituals which have been suggested by 'ulamā' of previous generations, while the modernists regard religious rituals which are not recommended by the Qur'an and the Hadith as bid'ah (inventions) prohibited by Islam.

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31 The differences between these two creeds is very old in Islam. They started in the eighth century. Watt mentions that although Muslim theologians in the eighth and ninth centuries were agreed : "God must in some sense will everything that happens, but the Hanafites tend at the same time to place more emphasis on man's responsibility than does al-Ash'ari" (Watt 1974 : 176).

The traditions of Javanese Kyai are, then rich with ritual practices which have created a more ritualistic type of religious and worldly life than the modernists'. For example, (1) the modernists practise eight raka'ah during tarawih[32] as performed by Muhammad; the Kyai however, usually practise twenty raka'ah as practised by Khalīfah 'Umar; (2) the modernists rely upon one call to prayer for Friday prayer, but the Kyai utilize two calls to prayer as practised by Khalīfah 'Uthmān; (3) the modernists do not practise qunut[33] as part of the second raka'ah of morning prayer, but the Kyai do so, as practised by Imam Shafi'i.

This is not to say, however, that the Kyai are less strict in their observances than the modernists; the Kyai believe that 'Umar and 'Uthmān, as the closest companions of the Prophet,[34] and Imam Shafi'i, as a leading 'ulamā', did not indulge in bid'ah but rather their religious practices conformed with the Qur'an and the Hadith. Nor does their ritualistic type of life mean that the Kyai neglect the world. They are deeply

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32 Raka'ah is a prescribed unit of physical movements and the reading of certain prayers. Tarawih is a recommended prayer practised at night during the whole month of Ramadan.

33 Qunut is a special prayer read at the second raka'ah of morning prayer.

34 'Umar was the second Khalīfah and was also a father-in-law of the Prophet, and 'Uthmān was the third Khalīfah and was also a son-in-law of the Prophet.

aware that life in the world is important. Acquiring wealth is important. Men have to eat in order to live, they have to possess suitable clothes so that they can cover their aurah (parts of the body that must not be seen by others), possess nafaqah (living expenses for the family) (see ʿAbdul Jalīl 1963 : 17). Furthermore, the Kyai urge the giving of alms to the poor and to orphans, and contributions for religious purposes such as mosques and madrasah as ʿibādah (dedication to Allah). And last but not least, as Muslims, they are urged to perform the haj in Mecca, which is possible only for the relatively wealthy. The fact that almost all Javanese Kyai are among the wealthiest people in the villages of Java and can perform haj in Mecca is an indication that they regard acquiring wealth as important in their worldly life.

The Javanese Kyai, however, do have different ideas about how life in the world should be practised as compared with the modernists. These differences are not so much theological as practical. For example, the modernists assess their position in the world by "modern" standards, while the Kyai evaluate it solely in accordance with life in the Hereafter. This does not mean that the modernists regard life in this world as more important than life in the Hereafter; both argue that life in this

world is transitional and life in the Hereafter is the most important goal to which life in this world should be oriented. However, while the modernists are occupied with a concern not to be left behind by the scientific and technological progress of the affluent societies, the Kyai are occupied with experience, as well as with the words of wisdom of the Prophet, that this world will until it ends tend to degenerate in religious matters (see Hāshim Ash'ari 1947). The modernists are occupied with the question : "Why are the Muslims backward while the infidels are affluent?"[35] The Kyai never pose such a question.[36] In trying to overcome their backwardness, the modernists espouse the Prophet Muhammad's teachings : "Work for your worldly life as if you will live forever in the world, and perform your religious obligations for your life in the Hereafter as if you

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[35] This question was the title of a book written by Amir Shakib Arselan, "Limādha ta'akhkhar al-Muslimūn wa limādha taqaddam ghairuhum" (1930). Arselan was an Egyptian and one of the leading exponents of the modernist movement in the world. This book was famous in the Middle East and in Indonesia in the 1930's. The question was submitted to him by an Indonesian. The book is quite popular among the modernists in Indonesia and has been translated into Indonesian by Munawwar Chalil one of the leading exponenets of the modernism in Indonesia, under the title : "Kenapa Ummat Islam Mundur dan Kenapa Kaum Selainmereka Maju?" (Munawwar Chalil 1954).

[36] When I was in the field, however, they frequently asked me the question whether many Australians professed Islam and performed religious obligations.

will die to-morrow".[37] For the modernists as well as for the Kyai, this command to work hard for material achievement is thus an order from the Prophet. But unlike the modernists who accept this command as the reason for their ambition to obtain affluence, the Kyai argue that worldly achievements are intended purely for the sake of life in the Hereafter, for, "as if you will live forever" is a conditional which is contrary to reality and impossible, while "as if you will die to-morrow" could quite possibly happen.[38]

From many conversations which I have had with Kyai Adlan 'Ali, it is clear to me that he argues that man's central position in the world is not due to his material progress, cleverness or inventive genius but to the possibility of his attaining sanctity and becoming a source of barakah for the world about him. He believes that man as man is imperfect, that only God is perfect. Being imperfect man has the tendency to forget his real nature as a creature who must follow the guidance of God, his Creator; he is by nature negligent and forgetful; therefore he needs to be reminded.[39] It is the Kyais' duty to urge people to perform religious rituals, especially

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[37]Almost all the educated modernists can quote this hadith.

[38]Personal interview with Kyai Adlan 'Ali on 17 June 1978.

[39]This exactly fits with the philosophy of the ordinary Javanese who assert that "Manungsa iku panggonane lali".

at the present-time when people are competing to obtain more and more material wealth while neglecting their religious duties. Kyai Adlan ʿAli is convinced that no one will suffer either in this world or in the Hereafter through the intensification of religious rituals because those who do not neglect their religious rituals are "blessed" by Allah; their ikhtiyār (work) for material wealth is "blessed" by Allah. Riches are not gained solely by hard work, but also by good luck; and intensive performance of religious rituals - by Allah's grace - may, it is hoped, bring good luck. Kyai Adlan ʿAli then quotes a verse of the Qur'an : "Udʿunī astajib lakum", which means "Ask me, I will give you what you want". Kyai Adlan also quotes another verse : "Udhkurnī adhkurkum", which means "Remember me, and I will remember you". Ikhtiyār (work), according to Kyai Adlan ʿAli, is the condition for obtaining reward, but reward is gained not only by ikhtiyār but also by Allah's grace.

Al-zuhd fī al-dunyā or zuhud is fundamental for the Kyai. Zuhud (which literally means ascetism), represent the Kyais' world view that rejects love of life in this world : "suatu pandangan hidup yang menolak sikap cinta kepada kehidupan dunia".[40] For the Kyai, however,

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[40] Almost the whole text of al-Hikām (see its translation by H. Salim Bahresiy, Terjemahan al-Hikam, Balai Buku Surabaya, 1977), the second most widely used Sufi text in the pesantren after al-Gazali's Ihya' ʿUlum al-Dīn, is devoted to the discussion of this zuhud world view.

zuhud does not imply a hatred of life in this world; only a lack of positive love for worldly life.[41] Kyai Shamsuri of Tebuireng explained to me :

> If you have wealth, you must not love your wealth and neglect the zuhud world view, according to which wealth is only an amānah (trust) from Allah for you to spend for the sake of your life in the Hereafter. You must not spend your wealth excessively (berlebih-lebihan) and for your own entertainment (hanya untuk kesenanganmu sendiri); if your neighbours are too poor to buy meat, chickens, beautiful clothes, etc., do not spend your wealth on these things; do not neglect to spend your wealth for religious purposes : pay your alms for the poor and for orphans and contribute your ʿamal jāriyah, i.e. for building mosques, madrasah, etc.

Zuhud is part of the religious view of Islamic Sufism which is widely practised by the Kyai.[42] Other spiritual virtues which characterize the spiritual life of the Kyai are wiraʿi (cleanliness from forbidden and reprehensible acts), khushuʿ (intimate feeling and remembrance of God), tawakkal (absolute reliance on

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[41] The modernists regard the Kyais' practice of zuhud as too excessive, leading the Kyai to adopt an attitude which hampers their own progress, and that of Muslims in general. The modernists' objection to the zuhud world view is partly due to the consideration that practitioners of zuhud generally show an indifference to the progress made by the outside world.

[42] Within the pesantren tradition, Sufi texts are taught to the most advanced students. The completion and mastery of well-known Sufi texts, such as Kyai Dahlan's Sirāj al-Tālibīn and al-Gazali's Ihyā' al-ʿUlūmuddin is considered the final stage of learning in the pesantren.

Allah), _sabar_ (patience), _tawaddu‘_ (humility), _ikhlas_ (sincerity), and _siddīq_ (righteousness).

Students of Indonesian Islam are quite familiar with the features of pesantren life, such as the austerity of the santri way of life and the santris' absolute obedience to their Kyai. The santris' absolute obedience to their Kyai, then, can be easily understood if we relate this to the _tawaddu‘_ and _ikhlās_ spiritual virtues of the Kyai. _Tawaddu‘_ refers to the realization that God is everything and we are nothing and, on another level, that other people can teach us something through possessing qualities which we do not have; however perfect we might be, others have certain qualities that we lack, and therefore we should be humble before them. Tawaddu‘ is opposed to the pride which blinds the ego to its own limitations; in the eyes of the Kyai, santri are honourable creatures of Allah who seek knowledge to perform God's duties; teaching and treating them well is an ‘ibādah. It is precisely a lack of tawaddu‘ among the modernist leaders in Indonesia that annoys the Kyai. Kyai Bishri Musthafa, for example, suggests that the inconvenient relationships between the modernists and the traditionalists are caused by the lack of tawaddu‘ among the modernists. The traditionalists agree that the modernists rightly practise what the Prophet has taught about religion,

and they appreciate the modernists' point of view. The modernists' mistake is, Kyai Bishri Musthafa argues, that, "they criticize us for having done something wrong in Islam" (K.H. Bishri Musthafa 1967 : 47). He speaks with regret of those who would confine the vast mercy of God to his servants and make paradise the preserve of a small clique of people.

Ikhlās means that the Kyai should teach their students and give religious guidance to people without any material interests but solely as an obligatory act imposed upon the Kyai by Allah.[43]

The Kyai combine these spiritual virtues with an intense practice of non-obligatory rituals such as salat sunnat (recommended prayers), puasa sunnat (recommended fasting) and dhikir (recollection) of Allah's names associated with salat as an extra, personal practice. The intensive practice of non-obligatory but recommended rituals indicates an absolute surrender to Allah. I quote Kyai Shamsuri's teaching in his Friday sermon on 28 April 1978 :

> Do not perform prayers just because you are obliged to but because you love Allah. He quotes a verse in the Qur'an "Remember God with much remembrance and glorify Him morning and

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43 The daily and weekly life of Kyai Mukhtar Shafa'at as described on p. 75 ff. is a good illustration of the ikhlās spiritual virtue of the Kyai. Kyai Shamsuri of Tebuireng is no less dedicated that Kyai Mukhtar; especially in the month of Ramadan he spends twelve hours a day teaching his students.

evening" (Qur'an 33 : 41). People who perform ʿibādah can be classified into at least three categories. Suppose you are fasting : If you fast during the month of Ramadan because other people do so and you are ashamed of not fasting, or if you fast but you do not avoid doing prohibited and reprehensible acts, then you obtain nothing from your fasting except hunger and thirst. Now, if you fast and you avoid doing prohibited things and you perform your daily obligatory prayers, then you are rewarded as a good Muslim. A third Muslim, does better than the second if he also performs recommended prayers, reading the Qur'an, etc., during the Ramadan; he is, then, a Muslim who is really taqwā to Allah, who is more honoured by Allah and who can enjoy ʿibādah not because he is obliged to but because he loves ʿibādah.

The ideology of the Kyai does not confound sacred and profane. They say : "If you orientate your life to worldly gain, you will fail to obtain a happy life either in this world or in the Hereafter; but if you orientate your life to the Hereafter you will enjoy a happy life both in this world and in the Hereafter".[44] The Kyai always stress that we are created by God as servants. It is essential for Allah's servants to serve Him. For a Kyai and his followers, life in this world involves the relentless execution of religious duties, ʿibādah, which means "to serve Allah". This ideology can have considerable political overtones, for, as I have shown in the "Jombang Declaration" in which "to vote for the Islamic Party" is an ʿibādah to God. In this manner, obeying the word of the Kyai is obeisance to Allah. According to the Kyai, the noblest man in

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44 My mother never ceaselessly teaches me to hold this belief as my fundamental "way of life".

the sight of God is the most taqwa to Allah. Nobility in the sight of the Kyai is assessed solely by someone's taqwa to Allah (see Qur'an 49 : 13). The Kyais' common acceptance of taqwa as the sole assessment of their relationships and stratification is the essential feature of the ideology which cements solidly their unity.

To conclude this chapter, I suggest that for many centuries the Kyai have preserved the pesantren as the best means of creating unity of ahlissunnah wa'l jama'ah ideology among themselves. Subsequently, this unity, which is expressed in the formal organization of NU, has operated to preserve the pesantren tradition. This is not to say, however, as Geertz suggests, that the purpose of NU is simply "to enclose the traditional religious social forms focussing around the pondoks within a modern political party structure with a minimum alteration of such forms" (Geertz 1960 : 176). Nor is NU simply the pesantren in politics as Ken Ward has argued (Ward 1974 : 91). NU's interests, within the religious, social and political structure of modern Indonesia, are undoubtedly much more extensive than merely the preservation of the pesantren tradition. It is more appropriate to consider NU as the modern manifestation of the religious and social life of the Kyai. Article 5 of the 1979 NU constitution sets forth four main activities. First, NU pursues activities which will accomplish the establishment

of an Islamic community. Second, NU pursues every effort for the supply of sufficient educational and cultural facilities for the people and the extension of Islamic education for NU members. Third, NU pursues activities which will produce the fulfilment of social justice. Fourth, NU pursues activities which will support the government's economic development plan, particularly the development of private co-operatives. To achieve these aims, the Kyai have been re-organizing their pesantren institutions, while at the same time preserving the essential aspect of these institutions as centres for the maintenance and spread of traditional Islam on Java. In this way the Kyai have been able to re-adjust the inner structure of their religious life, but at the same maintain their unity within the fold of the ahlissunnah wa'l jama'ah ideology.

In his Monash monograph, Ken Ward presents an intelligent discussion of NU, in which he shows that NU success in the 1971 election was due to the strong influence of the Javanese Kyai in moulding the social, cultural, political and religious life of the Javanese villagers. He has, however, made a fundamental mistake in assuming that "... lack of a political ideology, or lack of Masjumi's determination to assert its substitute political ideology, militant

Islam, has made internal differences relatively inconsequential in NU if compared with PNI[45] or Masjumi/Parmusi"[46] (Ward 1974 : 90). As I have shown in the foregoing chapters, the internal strength and relative integrity of NU is in large part due to the dominant strength of the conservative ideology of Islam in Java. The slogan of "warga ahlissunnah wa'l jamā'ah" (common membership of ahlissunnah wa'l jamā'ah) has been a most powerful factor in uniting NU members and their sympathizers. Commonality of ideology and philosophy is fundamental to NU, as stated by Hadratus-Shaikh,

> So long as we are tied together by a common philosophy and united in a strong organization, the relationships among us are infused with happiness, love and tenderness (Hāshim Ash'ari 1971 : 27).

Ken Ward's mistake results from his conventional approach to the study of the relationship between religion and politics in Indonesia. Anderson has recently warned colleagues,

> to be careful to avoid using secularist conceptions to deal with religious goals in a narrowly reductionist way. For in actuality secularism is a form of faith no less "religiously" held than any religion. When

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45 PNI is an abreviation of Partai Nasional Indonesia (the Indonesian Nationalist Party - see Rocamora 1970).

46 Masjumi and Parmusi were the parties of modernist Muslims in Indonesia (see Ward 1970).

> we are studying the relationship between religion and politics it is particularly important, therefore, to be aware of the secularist assumptions we employ for understanding the actions of other men (Anderson 1975 : 23).

Ward has analyzed NU's internal strength and integrity in terms of political strength, political integrity and political actions; and because the ideology of ahlissunnah wa'l jamāʿah of NU does not aim to achieve explicitly political goals, he assumes that NU shows a "lack of a political ideology". Ward, thus, misunderstands the nature of NU movement.

It is important, first of all, to point out that the heart of NU's being is religious. Its political goals are implied in its religious goals and, similarly, its political ideology must be conceived of as part of its religious ideology. The fundamental political goal of NU is not material or "secular" power, but religious power or, to be more specific, the spread of Islamic faith and the defence of the traditional ideology of Islam. This seems puzzling only if we make a sharp contrast between religious and materialist views. As I have shown in the preceding pages, the Kyai's conception of religion encompasses worldly achievements. The ideology of Kyai is therefore relevant to contemporary Indonesian politics with its promise of better material achievements for the Indonesian society.

The attraction of the ideology of ahlissunnah wa'l jamaʿah lies in its concept of what constitutes proper behaviour for Indonesians in the material world. Zuhud, tawadduʿ, ikhlās and siddīq are not empty slogans in contemporary Indonesian politics. A quote from Haji Sāhib's speech in the pengajian on 15 April 1978 is particular pertinent in this regard :

> Our Government has been working hard to carry out the economic development programs as set out in the Pelita III (Third Five Year Development Programme). We regret, however, that many people, who are responsible for carrying out the economic development projects, are not sincere in spending the government money. Many of them take the government money to enrich themselves without fearing that they have done something which is haram (prohibited by God). Many of them have forgotten the Islamic teachings that we must be sincere, trustworthy, austere, and practise zuhud. The result is that they are greedy and enjoy a luxurious life irregardless of the misery of the majority of the Indonesian people.
>
> Let us, Ladies and Gentlemen, pray to God, that God strengthens our Islamic faith, the faith of the Indonesian community, and especially the faith of our leaders, leaders who perform their duties according to the teachings of Islam.

I have shown in the preceding chapters that the explicit formulations of the Kyai's faith have changed little. Yet, as it is clear from Haji Sāhib's speech, the inner structure of the Kyai's religious life has been profoundly re-adjusted. The continuous expansion of the Islamic faith and the growth of faithful Muslim communities centered around

the Kyai are evidence of the vitality which the Kyai have shown in the face of the onslaught of Islamic modernism and secularist ideas in Java in the twentieth century.

CHAPTER EIGHT

THE KYAI IN CONTEMPORARY INDONESIA: TRENDS AND PROSPECTS

Pesantren tradition has behind it some five hundred years of history. The current situation of pesantren institutions in Java must therefore be considered within the context of the long-term development of Islam, both in Indonesia and in the Muslim world in general. This development is 'still in progress'.

Indonesia is one of the largest Islamic countries in the world. Eighty-seven per cent of its 148 million population claim to be Muslims. Almost sixty per cent of them live in Java. These tens of millions of Muslim Javanese are mainly adherents of the Islamic tradition of the Kyai. The Kyai have, throughout the history of Java, played a conspicuous role, even though in modern Indonesia their role has not received much attention from the students of Islam. In contemporary Indonesia, too, the Kyai have evinced the vitality of their faith. Amidst increasing material development, the Kyai have been regarded as the safeguards of the basic moral needs of the Indonesian community. Although the leaders of modern Indonesia do not declare Indonesia to be a Muslim country, neither do they follow the Western fashion of secular liberal humanism.

The influence of Islam is notable in the formulation of the Preamble of the Constitution and in the Pancasila as the foundation and the philosophy of the Indonesian state. This is clearly reflected in paragraph 3 of the Preamble of the Indonesian Constitution:

> "Upon the blessing of Allah Almighty and motivated by the noble will to have a free national life, the people of Indonesia herewith proclaim their independence".

The first principle of Pancasila is: "Belief in the One God". This principle motivates the people of Indonesia to conduct their daily life in accordance with the qualities praised by God Almighty, such as compassion and justice. The principle of Belief in the One God requires the people of Indonesia in their lives to defend truth against all kinds of dishonesty, to maintain justice by fighting against cruelty, to do good and correct mistakes, to be honest and to eliminate dishonesty. These principles require that the people of Indonesia act honestly by opposing all kinds of immorality. All these good qualities are expected to be practised by Indonesians for they believe in and adhere to the One God and accept His guidance.

The descriptions and analyses that I have presented thus far suggest that the Kyais' faith, although strongly bound up with traditional Islamic ideas, has room for future development. The Kyai do not emotionalize their traditional outlook so as to transform it into a closed

system, by which they retreat from modernity into a fanaticism of crippling isolationist violence. Indeed, they have been successful in adapting their traditional interpretation of Islam for life in a new dimension. In social and political fields too, the Kyai and their younger generation have become part of the national political life, not less modern than their more 'secularist' counterparts. From the time when Indonesia became independent until 1971, the Kyai as a group have been well represented in the executive and legislative bodies of the Indonesian government. At present the Kyai are well represented in legislative bodies, both at the national and regional level. In this manner, the Kyai as a major group in Indonesian politics have contributed significantly to the government efforts to maintain social and political stability.

The Kyai believe in the necessity of achieving material well being for the Indonesian people. However, they insist that mundane problems cannot be solved by men whose ideological and moral outlook is inappropriate to their solution. Their active participation in eliminating communism in the 1960s was based partly on this conviction. They believe in the application of social justice and the need for progress. However, according to the Kyai, social justice and progress must be achieved without sacrificing human freedom, including the freedom to profess a religion. This, they believe, is not guaranteed in a communist country. Similarly, the Kyai have never ceased to warn the

Indonesian national leaders of the fearsome magnitude of the dangers involved in being concerned only with material well being, of suddenly attempting to make up for 'lost centuries' by building dams, organizing complex industry, establishing technical institutions, and so on. They believe that it is imperative to apply Islamic morality to day-to-day living, to wed the ultimate meaning of life to the society in which one participates, to seek justice in the midst of machines.

Most writers on Islamic traditionalism are mistaken in asserting that change has put to sleep for good the forces which formerly found expression in the Kyai tradition. For the needs which the Kyai once served are still there and the means for ministering to them reappear in new forms and in different aspects of modern life. In the uncertain flux of mundane development in Indonesia, the Kyai are among the few who are prepared to serve the spiritual welfare of the Indonesian people.

The role of the Kyai in the contemporary world of Islam needs to be carefully assessed. In the past, they were more or less intellectually and spiritually dependent on the Middle Eastern centres of learning. Since the decline of Mecca as the centre of learning for traditional Islam, starting with the advent of the Wahabites who gained control of Saudi Arabia in 1924, the Javanese Kyai have become more independent in developing their intellectual and spiritual life. For example, since

independence they have taken the initiative in developing State Institutes of Islamic Studies where Muslim students can aquire advanced knowledge of Islam. There has also been a growing awareness among the Muslim leaders in Indonesia of the need to develop these institutes as research centres on Islam. In 1963 they organized the International Islamic Conference (Konperensi Islam Asia Afrika) in Jakarta, participated in by all Muslim countries in Asia and Africa.

Most scholars of Islam have equated the Islamic world with the Middle and Near East, and there has been a widespread view that the Javanese are 'bad' Muslims. But this view must be questioned. For example, in 1973 an Egyptian Muslim scholar asked me why pesantren institutions in Java provided female complexes side by side with male complexes and why madrasah provided co-education for male and female students. I suggested that this was not a sign that the Javanese are 'bad' Muslims, but that Islam in Java was distinctive in that Javanese women enjoyed more responsibility and freedom than did Muslim women in other Muslim countries. Many Javanese who have visited the Middle East now feel that there is not much left to learn about Islam in Mecca or at al-Azhar; instead, it is time for the Arabs to learn about Islam in Java. This is, of course, an exaggeration. However, there seems to be something significant in the statement that Islam in Indonesia, especially in Java, is

fascinatingly rich and that the rest of the Muslim world may well find something vital to learn from it.

TRENDS AND PROSPECTS

The task of prophesying the future of the pesantren institutions is not made easy by the fact that changes carried out by these pesantren come about only by slow and imperceptible stages, and not all pesantren have undergone the same changes. In general, the Kyai have chosen a more patient process of modernization of the pesantren institutions in a changing Javanese society, without leaving out the positive aspects of the traditional pesantren. They also believe that changes must be carried out without disrupting the positive aspects of village life. In striving to become more modernized educational institutions, pesantren institutions have insisted on maintaining links with the main stream of Islamic tradition. The Kyai have not discarded the great body of learned tradition, but have instead created fundamental changes in some areas of social and intellectual activity, in the manner of living, in social habits, and in professional aspirations. This is evident from the fact that most Kyais' sons and daughters are now educated at secular universities. During the first two decades of independence, these Kyais' sons and daughters were absorbed, upon their graduation, by the government bureaucracy and government universities. At present, many of them return to join their fathers in modernizing

further the pesantren educational system. This phenomenon is perhaps caused by the inability of the present government bureaucracy and universities to recruit them. In this manner, the pesantren institutions are gaining new strength from better trained staff. But this new development may raise a new problem for the pesantren. With a more secularized teacher staff, the secularization of thought and the replacement of an otherworldly outlook by a thisworldly one will proceed much further. If this happens, this will encourage a reaction on the part of some pesantren to return to the old tradition of pesantren. What may be the result of this is difficult to guess.

Set in a wider context, the future of pesantren tradition will certainly depend on how the Kyai will respond to challenges arising from the current development process of Indonesian society. The world-wide Islamic renewal may be less marked in Indonesia than, say, in Iran, Pakistan or in Malaysia. It is doubtless, however, that the pace of Islamic resurgence in Indonesia is also accelerating.

The economic development programs launched by the present government since 1969 has brought massive changes in the social, political and religious life of Indonesia. Yet problems of social injustice and poverty are felt to be more serious now than before. An intellectual search for improved development models is

under way. This includes an effort to rediscover the traditional religious values formerly expressed in the pesantren tradition. And it is fascinating that by endlessly restating their traditional and scholastic goals the Kyai have always been left free to launch social and political manoeuvres which subsequently ensure their survival.

In concluding this thesis I stress that one of the main concerns of this study is to call attention to the fact that the career of pesantren institutions in Java is currently changing in fundamental ways and is playing its part in transforming the modern life of Indonesia.

Those who approach the subject from the traditionalist-modernist dichotomy assert that sooner or later change will finally put to sleep the forces which formerly found expression in the pesantren tradition, and that traditional Islam in Java will in the end disappear and be replaced by Islamic modernism. Like most dichotomous approaches, this proposition may have heuristic value but is plainly false. The case of Pesantren Tebuireng shows the defects of the established approach of describing the pesantren tradition, and hence traditional Islam in Java, by means of the traditionalist-modernist dichotomy. Moreover, this approach has also made it difficult for future students to acquire the knowledge of Islam in Java anew, and has

trapped most of these students in conventional debates which are inadequately rooted in empirical reality or liberated from the contingent constraints of time and place. The end result is that our understanding of the content of religious thought and action in Java has remained largely underdeveloped.

In noting, therefore, the fruitlessness of the approach of the traditionalist-modernist dichotomy, I have approached the subject in terms of continuity and change. In this continuity and change approach I have depicted Java's pesantren institutions building up future by standing solidly on past tradition. In this approach, I have seen that elements of pesantren institutions may be dropped as well as added; customs disappear, observances are not carried out, new social institutions, conventions, moral codes are introduced, and so on. Pesantren institutions are, it is true, strongly bound up with the explicit formulation of the traditional Islam. A Kyai, however, who becomes the link between traditional Islam and the real world is subject to this worldly life. The duality of his position is, in fact, the heart of his distinctive quality, his tragedy and his glory. We may say that this duality raises problems for the Kyai as the leader of the pesantren institutions. However, we may also say that

he is a creative leader who has directed the pesantren tradition into ever new dimensions; and the enormously multi-faceted panorama of pesantren life would not be what it is today without his creative genius.

APPENDIX I

Most leaders of pesantren institutions in Java and Madura in the twentieth century graduated from Pesantren Tebuireng. I include in the following list Kyai who were/are successful in establishing themselves as part of the national, provincial and regency elites. The list is far from complete because the names given below are based on information given by Kyai Adlan 'Ali (b. 1907) and Kyai Mahfuz Anwar (b. 1917). Although both have been active in leading the Pesantren Tebuireng, they do not have enough information beyond their personal knowledge. For example, they can only mention five Kyai of West Java who have led pesantren in Cirebon. Neither knows other Kyai in West Java who studied in Tebuireng, although the number of students from all parts of West Java and Jakarta, as shown in Table VII, represents more than 33 per cent of the santri mukim. Since most of them were/are well-known Kyai and led major pesantren, I need not give their detailed addresses :

1. K. Wahab Hasbullāh, Tambakberas, Jombang
2. K. Bishri Shamsuri, Denanyar, Jombang
3. K. Ma'sum 'Ali, Seblak, Jombang
4. k. Adlan 'Ali, Cukir, Jombang
5. K. Idris, Tebuireng, Jombang
6. K. Wahid Hashim, Tebuireng, Jombang
7. K. Khāliq Hashim, Tebuireng, Jombang

8. K. Karim Hashim, Tebuireng, Jombang
9. K. Yusuf Hashim, Tebuireng, Jombang
10. K. Ahmad Baidawi, Tebuireng, Jombang
11. K. Mahfuz Anwar, Jombang
12. K. Mansur Anwar, Paculgowang, Jombang
13. K. Shamsuri Badawi, Tebuireng, Jombang
14. K. Sobari, Bogem, Jombang
15. K. Romly, Rejoso, Jombang
16. K. Wahib Wahab, Tambakberas, Jombang
17. K. Mukhdar, Rejoso, Jombang
18. K. Khairul Anwar, Menganto, Jombang
19. K. Muhammad Baidawi, Jombang
20. K. Makky, Mojowarno, Jombang
21. K. Nggayam, Mojoagung, Jombang
22. K. Abdulkarim, Lirboyo, Kediri
23. K. Marzuki, Lirboyo, Kediri
24. K. Ma'ruf, Lirboyo, Kediri
25. K. Mahrus, Lirboyo, Kediri
26. K. Bakar, Lirboyo, Kediri
27. K. Jazuli, Ploso, Kediri
28. K. Badrus Saleh, Purwoasri, Kediri
29. K. Ihsan Muhammad Dahlan, Jampes, Kediri
30. K. Hayat, Bendo Pare, Kediri
31. K. Zamroji, Kencong Pare, Kediri
32. K. Masduki, Babakan Ciwaringin, Cirebon
33. K. Abbas, Buntet, Cirebon
34. K. Akhyas, Buntet, Cirebon
35. K. Annas, Buntet, Cirebon
36. K. Satari, Babagan, Cirebon
37. K. As'as, Asembagus, Situbondo
38. K. Muhammad Siddiq, Jember
39. K. Mahfuz Siddiq, Jember
40. K. Abdullah Siddiq, Jember
41. K. Ahmad Siddiq, Jember
42. K. Abdulhamid Siddiq, Jember

43. K. Jauhari, Kencong, Jember
44. K. Ma'sum, Lasem, Rembang
45. K. Baidawi, Lasem, Rembang
46. K. Khalil, Lasem, Rembang
47. K. Mudasir, Banyuwangi
48. K. Harun, Darunnajah, Banyuwangi
49. K. Mukhtar Shafa'at Abdul Ghafur, Blok Agung, Banyuwangi
50. K. Abdussaleh, Podok Sempurna, Bunga, Gresik
51. K. Faqih, Maskumambang, Gresik
52. K. Mashuri, Sedayu, Gresik
53. K. Tahmid, Brebes
54. K. Abdulhamid, Karangbinangun, Lamongan
55. K. Amin, Tunggul, Lamongan
56. K. Zaini, Tanjung, Bangkalan
57. K. Mahfuz 'Abdussalam, Kajen, Pati
58. K. Sahal Mahfuz, Kajen, Pati
59. K. Saleh, Tayu, Pati
60. K. 'Abdurrahman, Mranggen, Semarang
61. K. 'Abdulkarim, Pasuruan
62. K. 'Abdullah, Kendal
63. K. Dahlan, Purwodadi
64. K. Khalil, Sidogiri, Pasuruan
65. K. Hasani, Sidogiri, Pasuruan
66. K. Ridwan, Surabaya
67. K. 'Abdulkarim, Kranji, Surabaya
68. K. Ghufran, Surabaya
69. K. Mashkur, Jakarta
70. K. Muhammad Dahlan, Jakarta
71. K. Shukri Gazali, Jakarta
72. K. Ilyas, Jakarta
73. K. Ahmad Shaikhu, Jakarta
74. K. Abbas, Buduran, Sidoarjo
75. K. Fatah, Mangunsari, Tulungagung
76. K. Khudari, Tegalrejo, Magelang
77. K. Zuber, Reksosari, Salatiga
78. K. Zainuddin, Reksosari, Salatiga

79. K. Sahal, Jetis, Sidoarjo
80. K. Mahfuz Annas, Lumajang
81. K. Muhsin, Mlitar
82. K. Makmur, Pemalang
83. K. Amir, Kotagede, Yogyakarta

APPENDIX II

List of Arabic texts taught at the Pesantren Tebuireng between October 1977 and August 1978

NAHW AND SARF

Title	Writer
al-Alfiyya	Muhammad b. ʿAbdillāh Ibn Mālik al-Tāʾī
Sharḥ al-Alfiyya	Sayyid Aḥmad Zaini Dahlan
Mihāj al-Masālik	Jamāl al-Dīn ʿAli b. Muhammad al-Ashmunī
Sharḥ al-Alfiyya	ʿAbdillāh b. ʿAbdurrahmān Ibn ʿAqīl
al-ʿImritī	Sharf Ibn Yahya Ibn ʿAbdulkhair al-Ansāri al-ʿImritī
Sharh al-ʿImritī	Shaikh Ibrahim al-Baijuri
al-Jurumiyya	Abū ʿAbdillāh Muhammad b. Daud al-Sanhaji Ibn al-Jurum
Mutammima	Shamsuddin Muhammad b. Muhammad al-Ruʿinī
Kafrawi (a commentary on al-Jurumiyya)	Hasan al-Kafrawi
Tarjamatul Maqsūd	Ahmad Mutahir Ibn ʿAbdurrahmān
Tuhfat al-Ahbāb wa Turfat al-Ashab	Muhammad b. ʿUmar Bahraq al-Hadrami
Amthilah al-Tasrī-fiyyah	Kyai Maʿsum ʿAli

HADĪTH

Title	Writer
Sahīh al-Bukhāri	Abu ʿAbdillah Muhammad Ibn Ismaʿīl Ibn Ibrahim al-Mughirah al-Bukhāri
Sahīh al-Muslim	Abu Husain Muslim Ibn al-Hajaj Ibn Muslim al-Washiri al-Naisaburi
al-Jāmiʿ al-Saghīr	Jalāl al-Dīn ʿAbdurrahmān Ibn Abi Bakr al-Sayuti
al-Tajrīd al-Sarīkh	Abil ʿAbbās Zainuddin Ahmad Ibn ʿAbdullatif
Riyād al-Sālihin	Yahya al-Din Abi Zakariyya Yahya Ibn Sharf al-Nawawi
Jawāhir al-Bukhari	Mustafa Muhammad ʿImarah

Bulugh al-Maram	Ibn Hajar al-Asqalani
Mukhtasar Ibn Abi Jamrah lil Bukhari	Muhammad ibn ʿAli al-Shafiʿi al-Shinwani
Matn al-Arbaʿin al-Nawawiyya fi al-Ahadith al-Sahih al-Nabawiyya	Imam Yahya ibn Sharifuddin al-Nawawi

TAWHID

Husun al-Hamidiyya	Sayyid Husain Affandi
Kifayah al-ʿAwamm	Shaikh Muhammad Fudali
ʿAqidat al-ʿAwamm	Ahmad al-Marzuqi
Jawahir al-Kalamiyah	Shaikh Tahir ibn Saleh al-Jaza'iri
Khamsah Mutun	Ibrahim al-Laqani

USUL FIQH

Ghayah al-Wusul Sharh lub al-Usul	Abi Yahya Zakariyya al-Ansari al-Shafiʿi
Jamʿul Jawamiʿ	Imam Tajuddin ʿAbdulwahab ibn Subki
al-Luma'	Abi Ishaq Ibrahim ibn ʿAli ibn Yusuf al-Shairazi
Lata'if al-Isharat	Shaikh ʿAbdulhamid ibn Muhammad ʿAli

FIQH

al-Muhadhdhab	Shaikh Abi Ishaq Ibrahim ibn ʿAli ibn Yusuf al-Shairazi
al-Iqna'	Shaikh Muhammad al-Sharbini al-Khatib
Fathul Wahab	Shaikh Abi Yahya Zakariyya al-Ansari al-Shafiʿi
Fathul Muʿin	Shaikh Zainuddin ibn Abdulʿaziz al-Malibari
Kifayat al-Akhyar	Shaikh Abi Bakr ibn Muhammad
Fathul Qarib	Shaikh Ahmad ibn Husain al-Shahir Abi Shuja'
Safinah al-Najat	Salim b. Samir al-Jaʿfar al-Khudari

Minhāj al-Qawīm	Shaikh Shihābuddīn Ahmad ibn Hajar al-Haitāmi
Sullam al-Taufīq	Sayyid ʿAbdillāh b. al-Husain b. Tāhir al-Hadrami
Marāqī al-ʿUbūdiyyah	Shaikh al-Nawawi al-Jawi al-Bantani al-Tanari

TASAWWUF AND ETHICS

Ihyā' ʿUlūm al-Dīn	Abū Hāmid Muhammad al-Ghazālī
al-Hikam al-ʿAtā'iyya	Ibn ʿAta'illah al-Iskandari
Minhāj al- Ābidīn	Abū Hāmid Muhammad al-Ghazālī
al-Nasā'ih al-Dīniyya	Shaikh ʿAbdullah ibn Alwi al-Hadād
Da'wah al-Tāmmah	as above
ʿIdhdhah al-Nāshi'īn	Shaikh Mustafā al-Ghalāyini
Wasiyyah al-Mustafā	Sayyid ʿAbdulwahāb al-Sha'rani
Nasā'ih al-ʿIbād	Shaikh Shihābuddīn Ahmad ibn Hajar al-Haitāmi
Taʿlīm al-Mutaʿallim	Shaikh Zarnuji
al-Tibyān fī al-Nahyi ʿan Muqāṭaʿah al-Arhām	Hāshim Ashʿāri

MISCELLANEOUS

Irshād al-ʿIbād	Shaikh al-Nawawi al-Jawi al-Bantani al-Tanari
al-Ashbab wa'l Nazā'ir	Imām Jalālluddīn ʿAbdurrahmān Abi Bakr al-Suyūtī
ʿUqūd al-Jumān	as above
al-Tārikh al-Tashriʿ	Shaikh Muhammad al-Khudari
'Aidāh al-Mubham	as above
Jawāhir al-Maknūn	Shaikh Ahmad al-Damhuri
Minhaj Dhawinnazar	Shaikh Mahfuz al-Tarmisy

Khulāsah Nūr al-Yaqīn	ʿUmar ʿAbduljabbār
Mabādi'ul Fiqhiyyah	as above
Tafsīr al-Qur'an al-ʿAdhīm	Imām Ibn Kathīr
Tafsīr al-Jalālain	Jalāl al-Dīn al-Mahalli and Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyuti

The following texts were included in the curricula of the Pesantren Tebuireng between October 1977 and August 1978. I failed, however, to solicit the names of the authors and these texts are not found in Brockelmann (1943-1949,[1] van den Berg (1886)[2], and Voorhoeve (1957)[3]:

1. Kāshifa al-Shāja
2. Risālah al-Muʿawanah
3. Aidakh fī Manāsik al-Hajj
4. Tanqīh al-Qawl
5. al-Munh al-Saniyya
6. Qāmi al-Tifyān
7. Lājuq
8. Jawāhir al-Balāghah

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[1] Brockelmann, Geschichte der Arabischen Literature, Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1943-49.

[2] van den Berg, Het Mohammedaansche Godsdienstonderwijs op Java en Madoera en de Daarbij Gebruikte Arabische Boeken, in Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal, Land-en Volkenkunde, Vol. XXXI, pp. 518-555

[3] P. Voorhoeve, Handlist of Arabic manuscripts in the Library of the University of Leiden and other collections in the Netherlands, Lugduni Batavorum, In Bibliotheca Universitatis, 1957.

APPENDIX III

The Arabic Text and th- Javanese and English Versions

Arabic :	al-hamdu	lillahi	al-ladhī	faddala	
Javanese:	utawi sekabehane puji, iku,	keduwe Allah	kang	wus ngutamakake, sapa Allah, marang,	
Enflish :	all praise	belongs to Allah	who	has given a privilege	to

Arabic :	bani	Adam	bi'l	'ilmi	wa'l	'amali	'ala
Javanese:	putra wayahe	Nabi Adam	kelwan	ngelmu	lan	kelawan ngamal	ngungkuli ing atase
English :	the descendants of	Adam		the knowledge	and	conduct	over

Arabic :	jamī'	al-'alami
Javanese:	sekabehane	ngalam
English :	the entire	world

APPENDIX IV

Ten formal types of educational activities currently in operation at Tebuireng

Name of educational activities	period of study	time		subjects taught
Bandongan classes	unlimited	5 - 7 8 -12 4 - 6 6.30-7.30 8 -10	a.m a.m. p.m. p.m. p.m.	classical Islamic texts
Madrasah Ibtidaiyyah (Junior religious High School)	6 years	7 -11.30	a.m.	70% religious subjects and 30% secular
Sekolah Persiapan Thanawiyah	2 years	7 -11.30	a.m.	100% religious
Madrasah Thanawiyah	3 years	7 -11.30	a.m.	70% religious 30% secular
Madrasah 'Āliyah	3 years	7 -11.30	a.m.	70% religious 30% secular
Sekolah Menengah Pertama	3 years	1 - 6	p.m.	100% secular
Sekolah Menengah Atas	3 years	1 - 6	p.m.	100% secular
Madrasah al-Huffaz	6 years	5 -12 1 - 5	a.m. p.m.	100% religious
Jam'iyyah	unlimited	9 -12	p.m.	organization and public speech
Hashim Ash'ari University	3 year course for a B.A. degree in Islamic Law	1 - 6	p.m.	50% religious 50% secular

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GLOSSARY

<u>Abangan</u> : Javanese Muslims on the fringe of the self-conscious practising Muslim community.

<u>Adab</u> : Arabic literature

<u>Akhlaq</u> : (Islamic) ethics

<u>ʿĀlim</u> : men of knowledge

<u>ʿAmal</u> : conduct or performance of religious rituals and social obligations

<u>ʿAmal jāriyah</u> : contributions of wealth for God's purposes which serve as a guarantee of contributor's welfare after death

<u>ʿAsar</u> : afternoon prayer

<u>Bait al-māl</u> : public finance

<u>Badal murshid</u> : assistant to murshid

<u>Bandongan</u> : or <u>weton</u>, a traditional teaching system employed by the pesantren institutions in which a group of students ranging in number from five to five hundred, listens to a teacher who reads and translates (and frequently explains further) the Arabic texts; each student has his own copy of the text which he annotates and writes notes on particular words which he does not know.

<u>Barakah</u> : originally meant "blessing" or "reward" from Allah. In Java, however, the term barakah is conceived of by the Santri as God's reward given to him through his Kyai.

<u>Dhikir</u> : recollection or remembrance of God's name

<u>Dhimmi</u> : non-Muslim subjects in an Islamic country

<u>Dhuhur</u> : mid-day prayer

<u>Do'a</u> : prayer for a blessing from God

<u>Fatwa</u> : decisions issued by the Muslim leaders

<u>Fiqh</u> : Islamic jurisprudence

<u>Funduq</u> : hotel or dormitory

<u>Ganjaran</u> : divine reward

GUPPI : an abreviation of Gabungan Usaha-Usaha Perbaikan Pendidikan Islam, meaning "Union of Endeavours to Improve Islamic Education", is the association of Islamic teachers and officials affiliated with the Golkar

Gus : derives from the word "si bagus" meaning "the handsome one". Gus is a title given to the sons and grandsons of a Kyai

Hadīth : traditions purporting to preserve the decisions, actions, and utterances of the Prophet Muhammad

Hadratus-Shaikh : literally means "the distinguished teacher". When the Kyai in Java refer to a Kyai as Hadratus-Shaikh, they mean "a great teacher", the""Grand Scholar"

Haji : Muslims who have performed pilgrimage to Mecca

Halaqah : traditional school classes employed by the pesantren institutions in which the bandongan system is used

I.A.I.N. : an abreviation of Institut Agama Islam NEGERI, is the State Institutes of Islamic Studies

Ijazah : certificate

Ijmaʿ : consensus of opinion on Islamic law a among those entitled to give opinion

Ijtihād : the right of individual interpretation and judgement of the Qur'an and the Hadith

Ikhlās : sincerety

Ilmu alat : literally means "the Knowledge of Tools", but used to mean the knowledge of Arabic grammar as a tool to master classical Islamic texts

Imām : leader of obligatory prayer; hence also used for Muslim leaders

Jiziyyah : taxes imposed upon non-Muslim subjects in a Muslim country

Kalimah shahādah : the basic Muslim creed, i.e. "There is no God but Allah and Muhammad is his prophet"

Karāmah : grace, thaumaturgis, charismatic gifts, as one of the spiritual attributes supposedly possessed by a Kyai

Kelurahan	:	an administrative unit of village clusters with populations ranging between 200 and 1,500 people apiece
Khushu'	:	intimate feeling and remembrance of God
Kyai	:	a title for Muslim scholars in Java who generally lead pesantren institutions
Kyai muda	:	Senior teaching staff in a pesantren institution
Langgar	:	a neighbourhood place of prayer for Muslims
Madhhab	:	(pl. madhāhib): school of law
Madrasah	:	Islamic schools organized on the Western educational system
Maghrib	:	sunset prayer
Masā'il dīniyyah	:	questions on Islamic law
Murid	:	students
Murshid	:	leader of tarekat brotherhood
Musafir	:	a pilgrim
Mati shahid	:	one who has died as a martyr
Musyawarah Antar Agama	:	Consultation among different Religious Communities
Mudarrosun	:	(tullab) = students of Islamic educational institutions
Mushāwarah class	:	a post graduate class within the pesantren educational system in which the students are required to study the advanced Islamic texts by themselves. The Kyai sits down and gives his lessons in the form of a seminar which is organized according to questions and subjects that are set in advanced
Nahdatul 'Ulamā'	:	The Awakeming of Muslim Scholars (the Organization of traditional Muslim Scholars in Indonesia)

Nahwu	:	syntax
Nyai	:	the Kyai's wife
Pancasila	:	(Five Basic Principles) = the ideological and political foundation of the Republic of Indonesia. First, the Belief in One God; second, humanity; third, nationalism; fourth, democracy; and fifth, social justice
Pengajian	:	were traditionally elementary training courses in reading the Qur'an informally organized and accommodated in a langgar, a mosque or a private house. In contemporary Java, pengajian are now regular, though informally organized, religious courses held mostly on a weekly basis in mosques or private houses after evening prayers
Penyantren	:	pesantren institutions in Madura
Pesantren	:	traditional Islamic training centres for advanced studies
Pesantren salafi	:	pesantren institutions which have not introduced the teaching of secular subjects
Pesantren khalafi	:	a pesantren institution modernized by either introducing the teaching of secular subjects or by incorporating secular schools, while maintaining the teaching of classical Islamic texts
Pondok	:	student residences in the pesantren complex
PPP	:	Partai Persatuan Pembangunan (United Development Party), a coalition of all Islamic Parties in Indonesia since 1973
Priyayi	:	members of the Javanese bureaucratic class
Qādi	:	Islamic judges
Qaul thānī	:	the view in an Islamic law to which preference can be given

Qaul ʿulamā' : the views of the majority of the Muslim scholars on a particular religious law

Rabitah = tawajjuh : ritual practice whereby the participants of tarekat orders imagine the face of their shaikh when they recite the dhikir

Rangkang meunasah : traditional Islamic training centres in Aceh, North Sumatra

Ro'īs ʿĀmm : General Chairman of NU

Santri : The word santri in this thesis is employed with two meanings. With lower case 's', santri is used to indicate students in the pesantren institutions. With capital 'S', Santri is used to indicate faithful Muslim Javanese

Santri kalong : Students of pesantren who come from villages surrounding the pesantren and do not usually live in the pesantren complex

Santri mukim : Students of pesantren who live in pesantren complex

Saraf : morphology

Sembahyang sunat : recommended prayers, for example, sembahyang tarawih (either eight or twenty raka'ah prayers after obligatory 'isha' or night prayer during the month of Ramadan)

Sharīʿah : Islamic law

Shirk : heretics

Siddiq : righteousness

S.M.A. : Sekolah Menengah Atas = Senior High School

S.M.P. : Sekolah Menengah Pertama = Junior High School

Sorogan : traditional method of training in reading and translating classical Islamic texts for elementary students. A student goes to a Muslim teacher who will read some passages of the Arabic texts and translate them into Javanese. The student, in return, repeats and translates the passages as correctly as possible. This teaching is given individually

Subuh : dawn prayer

Suluk : the practice by members of tarekat orders, of living in the mosque for a few weeks at certain times, disciplining themselves by following certain regulations of their orders, limiting the kinds and quantity of food, observing a strict division of time, and devoting themselves almost exclusively to dhikir and wirid. It is noteworthy that suluk is not commonly practised in contemporary Java

Surau : a prayer house in West Sumatra which also serves as a centre for traditional Islmaic education

Tafsīr : Qur'an exegesis

Tajwid : the science of the correct pronunciation of Arabic phonemes on their own, phonemic assimilations, short and long contrasts of vowels, and the study of punctuation marks

Talfiq : to follow one particular school on a certain matter and follow another on another matter

Taqlid : to follow the opinion of authoritative Muslim scholars without questioning the bases of the argument

Tarekat	: a srupulous observance of the rules of the shari'ah in ritual and social matters. i.e. by observing wira'i, performing recommended rituals before and after performing obligatory prayers, and practising riyalah
Tarekat order	: A Sufi order or Muslim brotherhood
Tarikh	: the history of Islam
Tasawwuf	: (Islamic) Sufism
Tawaddu ͨ	: humility
Tawajjuh	: see rabitah
Tawakkal	: absolute reliance on God
Tawhīd	: Islamic theology
Tālib al-ͨilm	: a searcher for knowledge
Tullāb	: see mudarrisun
ͨUlamā'	: Muslim scholars
Ummat Islam	: Islamic community
Ustadh	: junior teaching staff in a pesantren institution
Usul fiqh	: systems of Islamic jurisprudence
Wali	: Muslim saint
Weton	: see bandongan
Wirid	: dhikir in certain phrases, repeated tens, hundreds, and even thousands of time
Wira ͨi	: a man who always refrains from conduct prohibited by Islam
Zuhud	: Kyais' world view that rejects love of life in this world, which does not, however, imply a hatred of life in this world; only a lack of positive love for worldly life